

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF TENNESSEE  
NASHVILLE DIVISION**

**L.E., by his next friends and parents,)  
SHELLEY ESQUIVEL and )  
MARIO ESQUIVEL, )**

**Plaintiff,**

**v.**

**BILL LEE, in his official capacity  
as Governor of Tennessee; et al., )**

**Defendants.**

**No. 3:21-cv-00835**

**Chief Judge Crenshaw**

**Magistrate Judge Newbern**

**DECLARATION OF STEPHEN B. LEVINE, M.D.**

I, Dr. Stephen B. Levine, pursuant to 28 U.S. Code § 1746, declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the facts contained in my Expert Report of Stephen B. Levine, M.D., in the Case of *L.E. v. Governor Lee, et al.*, attached hereto, are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief, and that the opinions expressed therein represent my own expert opinions.

Executed on May 20, 2022

  
Stephen B. Levine, M.D.

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## **I. CREDENTIALS & SUMMARY**

1. I am Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine, and maintain an active private clinical practice. I received my MD from Case Western Reserve University in 1967, and completed a psychiatric residency at the University Hospitals of Cleveland in 1973. I became an Assistant Professor of Psychiatry at Case Western in 1973, became a Full Professor in 1985, and in 2021 was honored to be inducted into the Department of Psychiatry's "Hall of Fame."

2. Since July 1973, my specialties have included psychological problems and conditions relating to individuals' sexuality and sexual relations, therapies for sexual problems, and the relationship between love, intimate relationships, and wider mental health. In 2005, I received the Masters and Johnson Lifetime Achievement Award from the Society of Sex Therapy and Research. I am a Distinguished Life Fellow of the American Psychiatric Association.

3. I have served as a book and manuscript reviewer for numerous professional publications. I have been the Senior Editor of the first (2003), second (2010), and third (2016) editions of the *Handbook of Clinical Sexuality for Mental Health Professionals*. In addition to five previously solo-authored books for professionals, I have recently published *Psychotherapeutic Approaches to Sexual Problems* (2020). The book has a chapter titled “The Gender Revolution.”

4. In total I have authored or co-authored over 180 journal articles and book chapters, 20 of which deal with the issue of gender dysphoria. I am an invited member of a Cochrane Collaboration subcommittee that is currently preparing a review of the scientific literature on the effectiveness of puberty blocking hormones and of cross-sex hormones for gender dysphoria for adolescents. Cochrane Reviews are a well-respected cornerstone of evidence-based practice, comprising a systematic review that aims to identify, appraise, and synthesize all the empirical evidence that meets pre-specified eligibility criteria in response to a particular research question.

5. I first encountered a patient suffering what we would now call gender dysphoria in July 1973. In 1974, I founded the Case Western Reserve University Gender Identity Clinic, and have served as Co-Director of that clinic since that time. Across the years, our Clinic treated hundreds of patients who were experiencing a transgender identity. An occasional child was seen during this era. I was the primary psychiatric caregiver for several dozen of our patients and supervisor of the work of other therapists. I was an early member of the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association (later known as WPATH) and served as the Chairman of the committee that developed the 5th version of its Standards of Care. In 1993 the Gender Identity Clinic was renamed, moved to a new location, and became independent of Case Western Reserve University. I continue to serve as Co-Director.

6. In the course of my five decades of practice treating patients who suffered from gender dysphoria, I have at one time or another recommended or prescribed or supported social transition, cross-sex hormones, and surgery for particular patients, but only after extensive diagnostic and psychotherapeutic work.

7. In 2006, Judge Mark Wolf of the Eastern District of Massachusetts asked me to serve as an independent, court-appointed expert in a litigation involving the treatment of a transgender inmate within the Massachusetts prison system. In that litigation, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit in a 2014 (En Banc) opinion cited and relied on my expert testimony. I have been retained by the Massachusetts Department of Corrections as a consultant on the treatment of transgender inmates since 2007.

8. In 2019, I was qualified as an expert and testified concerning the diagnosis, understanding, developmental paths and outcomes, and therapeutic treatment of transgenderism and gender dysphoria, particularly as it relates to children, in the matter of *In the Interest of J.A.D.Y. and J.U.D.Y.*, Case No. DF-15-09887-S, 255th Judicial District, Dallas County, TX (the “*Younger* litigation”). I have provided expert testimony in other litigation as listed in my curriculum vitae. In 2019, I provided written expert testimony in the landmark case in the United Kingdom; *Bell v. The Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust*.



9. I am regularly requested to speak on the topic of gender dysphoria and have given countless presentations to academic conferences and Departments of Psychiatry around the country. On May 24, 2022 I organized and co-presented a symposium on the management of adolescent-onset transgender identity: Is it time to question “best practices” at American Psychiatric Association’s Annual Meeting.

10. A fuller review of my professional experience, publications, and awards is provided in my curriculum vitae, a copy of which is attached hereto as Exhibit A.

11. I am being compensated for my time spent in connection with this case at a rate of \$400.00 per hour for consultation and \$500.00 per hour for time spent testifying.

### **Summary**

12. I have reviewed the “Declaration and Expert Report of Melissa A. Cyperski, PhD,” dated April 15, 2022. In that declaration Dr. Cyperski makes a variety of statements about gender dysphoria as a serious medical condition, its interventions involving social transition of children and hormone administration for pre- and early adolescents,

other approaches to the therapy for gender dysphoria (“so-labelled conversion therapy”) which I believe to be fashionable beliefs held by a large numbers of “experts” following outdated WPATH standards, and justified by institutional endorsements. The basic problem is that these beliefs are unsupported by scientific evidence. I note with some concern that Dr. Cyperski makes a number of sweeping assertions but cites almost no peer-reviewed articles or studies that support her opinions.

13. Based on her declaration, her CV, and her 4 years of experience working at VPATH, her relevant practice is focused on children, adolescents, and their families. It does not appear that she has had substantial experience in working with adults or older young adults who are living in a transgender identity, or who suffer from the distress of ongoing gender dysphoria after medical interventions. She makes no mention of the known substance abuse, psychiatric symptoms, medical problems, and shortened life spans of adult trans communities. She appears to favor instituting affirmative unquestioning social, medical, and ultimately surgical support (note she refers to “chest surgery” rather than bilateral mastectomies) but does not mention the numerous cases

that perhaps give the multidisciplinary team at VPATH great concern (hopefully, at least). These would include those on the autism spectrum, those in foster care, the adopted, the traumatized, those with poor mental health and those with disrupted family bonds. Moreover, the wider lifecycle view that derives from experience with these adults (and familiarity with the literature concerning them) provides an important cautionary perspective. The psychiatrist or psychologist treating a trans child or adolescent, of course, seeks to make the young patient happier, but the overriding consideration is the creation of a happy, highly functional, mentally healthy person for the next 50 to 70 years of life. I refer to treatment that keeps this goal in view as the “life course” perspective.

14. Like myself, Dr. Cyperski works as an educator of mental health professionals in training, a laudatory endeavor. The issue, however, is what is communicated during such processes. Is it “how to take care of trans-identified children and adolescents” or is it “understanding the controversies, clinical and political, that surround the treatment of this group” or is it “what does science know about the

outcome of various treatment interventions?” To the extent that Dr. Cyperski believes that the only way to avoid harm is affirmative care, she is also likely to have other questionable assumptions that lack firm scientific foundation. Dr. Cyperski’s use of “unethical” seems to include that which she does not agree with. Here is a list of other assumptions that many who are certain that affirmative care is best share:

- a. A trans identity is immutable;
- b. Trans identities are primarily caused by biological forces;
- c. Gender identity and orientation are distinct stable dimensions of identity;
- d. Affirmative care lastingly improves mental health and social function;
- e. Affirmative care reduces the rates of suicidal ideation and suicide;
- f. Young teens can give informed consent for hormones because they know best what will make them happy now and, in the future;
- g. De-transition of affirmed youth is rare;

- h. Associated psychopathology during and after affirmative care is primarily due to minority stress;
- i. There are no ethical concerns in affirmative care of children, these only exist with non-affirmative care.

These assertions are inaccurate or unsupported, for reasons that I explain in this Declaration. I will provide citations to published, peer-reviewed articles that inform my judgments.

15. A summary of the key points that I explain in this report is as follows:

- a. Sex as defined by biology and reproductive function is clear, binary, and cannot be changed. While hormonal and surgical procedures may enable some individuals to “pass” as the opposite gender during some or all of their lives, such procedures carry with them physical, psychological, and social risks, and no procedures can enable an individual to perform the reproductive role of the opposite sex. (Section II.A.)

b. The diagnosis of “gender dysphoria” encompasses a diverse array of conditions, with widely differing pathways and characteristics depending on age of onset, biological sex, mental health, intelligence, motivations for gender transition, socioeconomic status, country of origin, etc. Data from one population (e.g., adults) cannot be assumed to be applicable to others (e.g., children).  
(Section II.B.)

c. Among practitioners in the field, there are currently widely varying views concerning both the causes of and appropriate therapeutic response to gender dysphoria in children or adolescents. There are no generally accepted “standards of care” (including WPATH’s Standards of Care) and existing studies do not provide a basis for a scientific conclusion as to which therapeutic response results in the best long-term outcomes for affected individuals. (Section III.)

- d. Transgender identity is not biologically based. Rather, gender dysphoria is a psychiatric condition that cannot be identified by any biological test or measurement. (Sections IV.A, IV.B.). It is not a medical disorder even though advocates treat it with medications and surgery.
- e. Disorders of sexual development (“DSDs”) are biological phenomena. It is an error to conflate and/or scientifically link DSDs with incidents of gender dysphoria. (Sections IV.C, IV.D.)
- f. The large majority of children who are diagnosed with gender dysphoria “desist”—that is, their gender dysphoria does not persist—by puberty or adulthood. Desistence is also increasingly observed among teens and young adults who have experienced “rapid onset gender dysphoria” — first manifesting gender dysphoria during or shortly after adolescence. (Section V.A., V.B.)
- g. “Social transition” —the active affirmation of transgender identity—in young children is a powerful

psychotherapeutic intervention that will substantially reduce the number of children “desisting” from transgender identity. Therefore, the profound implications of “affirmative” treatment—which include taking puberty blockers, cross-sex hormones, and mastectomies—must be taken into account where social transition is being considered. (Section VI.A., VI.B.)

h. Administration of puberty blockers is not a benign “pause” of puberty, but rather a powerful medical and psychotherapeutic intervention that almost invariably leads to persistence in a transgender identity and, ultimately, to the administration of cross-sex hormones. (Section VI.C.)

i. The knowledge base concerning the “affirmative” treatment of gender dysphoria available today has very low scientific quality with many long-term implications remaining unknown. (Section VII.A)



- j. There are no studies that show that affirmation of transgender identity in young children reduces suicide or suicidal ideation, or improves long-term outcomes, as compared to other therapeutic approaches. Meanwhile, multiple studies show that adult individuals living transgender lives suffer much higher rates of suicidal ideation, completed suicide, and negative physical and mental health conditions than does the general population. This is true before and after transition, hormones, and surgery. (Section VII.B., VII.C.)
- k. In light of what is known and not known about the impact of affirmation on the incidence of suicide, suicidal ideation, and other indicators of mental and physical health, it is scientifically baseless, and therefore unethical, to assert that a child or adolescent who express an interest in a transgender identity will kill him- or herself unless adults and peers affirm that child in a transgender identity. (Section VIII.)

1. Hormonal interventions to treat gender dysphoria are experimental in nature and have not been shown to be safe, but rather put an individual at risk of a wide range of long-term and even life-long harms including: physical health risks; sterilization and the associated emotional response; impaired sexual response; surgical complications and life-long after-care; alienation of family and romantic relationships; elevated mental health risks of depression, anxiety, and substance abuse. (Section IX.)

## **II. BACKGROUND ON THE FIELD**

### **A. The biological baseline of the binary sexes**

16. Advocates of affirmative care of children of assert that “the terms biological sex and biological male or female are imprecise and should be avoided” or that the term biological sex “can cause confusion.” Biological sex is very well defined in all biological sciences including medicine. It is pervasively important in human development throughout the lifecycle.

17. Sex is not merely “assigned at birth” by humans visualizing the genitals of a newborn, nor is it generally imprecise. Rather, it is clear, binary, and determined at conception. The sex of a human individual at its core structures the individual’s biological reproductive capabilities—to produce ova and bear children as a mother, or to produce semen and beget children as a father. As physicians know, sex determination occurs at the instant of conception, depending on whether a sperm’s X or Y chromosome fertilizes the egg. A publication of the federal government’s National Institute of Health accurately summarizes the scientific facts:

“Sex is a biological classification, encoded in our DNA. Males have XY chromosomes, and females have XX chromosomes. Sex makes us male or female. Every cell in your body has a sex—making up tissues and organs, like your skin, brain, heart, and stomach. Each cell is either male or female depending on whether you are a man or a woman.” (NIH Graphic)

18. The binary of biological sex is so fundamental and wide-ranging in its effects on human (and mammal) development and physiology that since 2014 the NIH has required all funded research on

humans or vertebrate animals to include “sex as a biological variable” and give “adequate consideration of both sexes in experiments.” (NIH Policy and Guidelines). In 2021, the Endocrine Society issued a position paper elaborating on the application of the NIH requirement. The Endocrine Society correctly stated that “Sex is a biological concept . . . all mammals have 2 distinct sexes;” that “biological sex is . . . a fundamental source of intraspecific variation in anatomy and physiology;” and that “In mammals, numerous sexual traits (gonads, genitalia, etc.) that typically differ in males and females are tightly linked to each other because one characteristic leads to sex differences in other traits.” (Bhargava 2021.)

19. The Endocrine Society emphasized that “The terms sex and gender should not be used interchangeably,” and noted that even in the case of those “rare” individuals who suffer from some defect such that they “possess a combination of male- and female-typical characteristics, those clusters of traits are sufficient to classify most individuals as either biologically male or female.” They concluded, “Sex is an essential part of vertebrate biology, but gender is a human phenomenon. Sex often

influences gender, but gender cannot influence sex.” (Bhargava 2021.)

For purposes of this litigation, Dr. Bhargava’s statement that gender cannot influence sex is of central importance.

20. As these statements and the NIH requirement suggest, biological sex pervasively influences human anatomy, its development and physiology. This includes, of course, the development of the human brain, in which many sexually dimorphic characteristics have now been identified. In particular, the Endocrine Society and countless other researchers have determined that human brains undergo particular sex-specific developmental stages during puberty. This predictable developmental process is a genetically controlled coordinated endocrine response that begins with pituitary influences leading to increases in circulating sex hormones. (Bhargava 2021 at 225, 229; Blakemore 2020 at 926, 929; NIH 2001.).

21. Humans have viewed themselves in terms of binary sexes since the earliest historical records. Recognizing a concept of “gender identity” as something distinct from sex is a rather recent innovation whose earliest manifestations likely increased (from its rare mention in

various literatures) in the late 1940s. Its usage became common in medicine in the 1980s and subsequently in the larger culture. Definitions of gender have been evolving and remain individual centric and subjective. In a statement on “Gender and Health,” the World Health Organization defines “gender” as “the characteristics of women, men, girls and boys that are socially constructed” and that “var[y] from society to society and can change over time,” and “gender identity” as referring to “a person’s deeply felt, internal and individual experience of gender.” (WHO Gender and Health) As these definitions indicate, a person’s “felt” “experience of gender” is inextricably bound up with and affected by societal gender roles and stereotypes—or, more precisely, by the affected individual’s *perception* of societal gender roles and stereotypes and their personal idiosyncratic meanings. Typically, gendered persons also have subtly different, often idiosyncratic, reactions to societal gender roles and stereotypes without preoccupation with changing their anatomy.

22. Thus, the self-perceived gender of a child begins to develop along with the early stages of identity formation generally, influenced in

part from how others label the infant: “I love you, son (daughter).” This designation occurs thousands of times in the first two years of life when a child begins to show awareness of the two possibilities. As acceptance of the designated gender corresponding to the child’s sex is the outcome in >99% of children everywhere, anomalous gender identity formation begs for understanding.

- a. Is it biologically shaped?
- b. Is it biologically determined?
- c. Is it the product of how the child was privately regarded and treated?
- d. Is it a product of the quality of early life caregiver attachments?
- e. Does it stem from trauma-based rejection of maleness or femaleness, and if so, flowing from what trauma?
- f. Does it derive from a tense, chaotic interpersonal parental relationship without physical or sexual abuse?

- g. Is it a symptom of another, as of yet unrevealed, emotional disturbance or neuropsychiatric condition (autism)?
- h. For adolescent onset gender dysphoria, has the immersion in trans social media Internet sites fostered the early pubertal child's new concept of belong to the transgender community

The answers to these relevant questions are not scientifically known but are not likely to be the same for every trans-identified child, adolescent, or adult. All therapy approaches need to keep these eight questions in mind for every trans-identified patients.

23. Under the influence of hormones secreted by the testes or ovaries, numerous additional sex-specific differences between male and female bodies continuously develop postnatally, culminating in the dramatic maturation of the primary and secondary sex characteristics with puberty. These include differences in hormone levels, height, weight, bone mass, shape, musculature, body fat levels and distribution, and hair patterns, as well as physiological differences such as



menstruation and ejaculation. These are genetically programmed biological consequences of sex—the actual meaning of sex over time. Among the consequences of sex is the consolidation of gender identity during and after puberty.

24. Despite the increasing ability of hormones and various surgical procedures to reconfigure some male bodies to visually pass as female, or vice versa, the biology of the person remains as defined by his (XY) or her (XX) chromosomes, including cellular, anatomic, and physiologic characteristics and the particular disease vulnerabilities associated with that chromosomally defined sex. For instance, the XX (genetically female) individual who takes testosterone to stimulate certain male secondary sex characteristics will nevertheless remain unable to produce sperm and father children. It is certainly true, hormone therapy and grooming-clothing changes can significantly change a person's physical appearance. But in critical respects this change can only be “skin deep.” Contrary to assertions and hopes that medicine and society can fulfill the aspiration of the trans individual to become “a complete man” or “a complete woman,” this is not

biologically attainable. (Levine 2018 at 6; Levine 2016 at 238.) It is possible for some adolescents and adults to pass unnoticed—that is, to be perceived by most individuals as a member of the gender that they aspire to be—but with limitations, costs, and risks, as I detail later.

**B. Definition and diagnosis of gender dysphoria**

25. Specialists have used a variety of terms over time, with somewhat shifting definitions, to identify and speak about a distressing incongruence between an individual’s genetically determined sex and the gender with which they identify or to which they aspire. Today’s American Psychiatric Association *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (“DSM-5”) employs the term Gender Dysphoria and defines it with separate sets of criteria for adolescents and adults on the one hand, and children on the other.

26. There are at least five distinct pathways to gender dysphoria: early childhood onset; onset near or after puberty with no prior cross-gender patterns; onset after defining oneself as gay for several or more years and participating in a homosexual lifestyle; adult onset after years of heterosexual transvestism; and onset in later adulthood with few or no

prior indications of cross-gender tendencies or identity. (Levine 2021)

The early childhood onset pathway and the more recently observed onset around puberty pathway are most relevant to this matter.

27. Gender dysphoria has very different characteristics depending on age and sex at onset. Young children who are living a transgender identity commonly suffer materially fewer symptoms of concurrent mental distress than do older patients. (Zucker 2018.) The developmental and mental health patterns for each of these groups are sufficiently different that data developed in connection with one of these populations cannot be assumed to be applicable to another.

28. The criteria used in DSM-5 to identify Gender Dysphoria include a number of signs of discomfort with one's sex and vary somewhat depending on the age of the patient, but in all cases require "clinically significant distress or impairment in . . . important areas of functioning" such as social, school, or occupational settings. The symptoms must persist for at least six months.

29. Children who conclude that they are transgender are often unaware of a vast array of adaptive possibilities for how to live life as a

man or a woman—possibilities that become increasingly apparent over time to both males and females. A boy or a girl who claims or expresses interest in pursuing a transgender identity often does so based on stereotypical notions of femaleness and maleness that reflect constrictive notions of what men and women can be. (Levine 2017 at 7.) A young child’s—or even an adolescent’s—understanding of this topic is quite limited. Nor can they grasp what it may mean for their future to be sterile. These children and adolescents consider themselves to be relatively unique; they do not realize that discomfort with the body and perceived social role is neither rare nor new to civilization. What is new is that such discomfort is thought to indicate that they must be a trans person.

**C. Impact of gender dysphoria on minority and vulnerable groups**

30. Given that a diagnosis of gender dysphoria is now frequently putting even young children on a pathway that leads to irreversible physical changes and sterilization by young adulthood, it should be of serious concern to all practitioners that minority and vulnerable groups

are receiving this diagnosis at disproportionately high rates. These include: children of color (Rider 2018), children with mental developmental disabilities (Shumer 2015), children on the autistic spectrum (at a rate more than 7x the general population) (Shumer 2016; van der Miesen 2018), children with ADHD (Becerra-Culqui 2018), children residing in foster care homes, adopted children (at a rate more than 3x the general population) (Shumer 2017), victims of childhood sexual or physical abuse or other “adverse childhood events” (Thoma 2021; Newcomb 2020; Kozłowska 2021), children with a prior history of psychiatric illness (Edwards-Leeper 2017; Kaltiala-Heino 2015; Littman 2018), and more recently adolescent girls (in a large recent study, at a rate more than 2x that of boys) (Rider 2018 at 4).

**D. Three competing conceptual models of gender dysphoria and transgender identity**

31. Discussions about appropriate responses by mental health professionals (“MHPs”) to actual or sub-threshold gender dysphoria are complicated by the fact that various speakers and advocates (or a single speaker at different times) view transgenderism through at least three

very different paradigms, often without being aware of, or at least without acknowledging, the distinctions.

32. Gender dysphoria is conceptualized and described by some professionals and laypersons as though it were a serious, physical **medical illness** that causes suffering, comparable to diseases that are curable before it spreads, such as, melanoma or sepsis. Within this paradigm, whatever is causing distress associated with gender dysphoria—whether secondary sex characteristics such as facial hair, nose and jaw shape, presence or absence of breasts, or the primary anatomical sex organs of testes, ovaries, penis, or vagina—should be removed to alleviate the illness. The promise of these interventions is the cure of the gender dysphoria.

33. Dr. Cyperski appears to endorse this perspective, asserting that gender dysphoria is a “medical condition.” It should be noted, however, that gender dysphoria is a psychiatric, not a medical, diagnosis. Since its inception in DSM-III in 1983, it has always been specified in the psychiatric DSM manuals and has not been specified in medical diagnostic manuals. Notably, gender dysphoria is the only

psychiatric condition to be treated by surgery, even though no endocrine or surgical intervention package corrects any identified biological abnormality. (Levine 2016 at 240.)

34. Gender dysphoria is alternatively **conceptualized in developmental terms**, as an adaptation to a psychological problem that may have been first manifested as a failure to establish a comfortable conventional sense of self in early childhood. This paradigm starts from the premise that all human lives are influenced by past processes and events. Trans' lives are not exceptions to this axiom. (Levine 2016 at 238.) MHPs who think of gender dysphoria through this paradigm may work both to identify and address causes of the basic problem of the deeply uncomfortable self or a sense of self impaired by later adversity or abuse. The purpose is to ameliorate suffering when the underlying problem cannot be solved. MHPs first work with the patient and (ideally) family to learn about the events and processes that may have led to the trans person repudiating the gender associated with his sex. The developmental paradigm is mindful of temperamental, parental bonding, psychological, sexual, and physical trauma influences, and the

fact that young children work out their psychological issues through fantasy and play and adolescents work out their issues by adopting various interests and identity labels. It is basic to the understanding of adolescent development from puberty to early adulthood that the three elements of sexual identity—gender identity, orientation, and intention—are being privately considered by the teenager and may have changeable forms before they become relatively stable.

35. There is evidence among adolescents that peer social influences through “friend groups” (Littman 2019) or through the internet can increase the incidence of gender dysphoria or claims of transgender identity. Responsible MHPs will want to probe these potential influences to better understand what is truly deeply tied to the psychology of the patient, and what may instead be being “tried on” by the youth as part of the adolescent process of self-exploration and self-definition.

36. In addition, the developmental paradigm recognizes that, with the important exception of genetic sex, essentially all aspects of an individual’s identity evolve—often markedly—across the individual’s



lifetime. This includes gender. Some advocates assert that a transgender identity is biologically caused, fixed from early life, and eternally present in an unchanging manner. However, this assertion is not supported by science.<sup>1</sup>

37. The third paradigm through which gender dysphoria is alternatively conceptualized is from **a sexual minority rights perspective**. Under this paradigm, any response other than medical and societal affirmation and implementation of a patient's claim to "be" the opposite gender is a violation of the individual's civil right to self-expression. Any effort to ask "why" questions about the patient's condition, or to address underlying influences in this patient, is viewed as a violation of autonomy and civil rights. In the last few years, this paradigm has been successful in influencing public policy and the education of pediatricians, endocrinologists, and many mental health professionals. Obviously, however, this is not a medical or psychiatric perspective. Unfortunately, it appears to be the most powerful

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<sup>1</sup> Even the advocacy organization The Human Rights Campaign asserts that a person can have "a fluid or unfixed gender identity." <https://www.hrc.org/resources/glossary-of-terms>.

perspective that exists in the public, non-scientific debate. Courts must separate arguments that are based on science from those based on beliefs.

#### **E. Four Competing Models of Therapy**

38. Few would disagree that the human psyche is complex. Few would disagree that children's and adolescents' developmental pathways typically have surprising twists and turns. The complexity and unpredictability of the childhood and adolescent development equally applies to trans-identifying youth. Because of past difficulties of running placebo-controlled clinical trials in the transgender treatment arena, substantial disagreements among professionals about the causes of trans identities and their ideal treatments exist. These current disagreements might have been minimized if trans treated persons were carefully followed up to determine long-term outcomes. They have not been. When we add to this to the very different current paradigms for understanding transgender phenomena, it is not scientifically surprising that disagreements are sharply drawn. It is with this in mind that I

summarize below the leading approaches. I also offer certain observations and opinions concerning them.

### **The “watchful waiting” therapy models**

39. Below I review the uniform finding of eleven follow-up studies that the large majority of children who present with gender dysphoria will desist from desiring a transgender identity by adulthood left untreated by social transition approaches.

40. When a pre-adolescent child presents with gender dysphoria, a “watchful waiting” approach seeks to allow for the fluid nature of gender identity in children to naturally evolve—that is, take its course from forces within and surrounding the child. Watchful waiting has two versions:

-Model One: Treating any other psychological co-morbidities—that is, other mental illnesses as defined by DSM-5 (separation anxiety disorder, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, autism spectrum disorder, obsessive compulsive disorder, etc.), or subthreshold for diagnosis but behavioral problems that the child may exhibit (school

avoidance, bedwetting, inability to make friends,

aggression/defiance) without a focus on gender

-Model Two: No treatment at all for anything but a regular follow-up appointment. This might be labeled a “hands off” approach.

**The psychotherapy model:** Alleviate distress by identifying and addressing causes (Model Three)

41. One of the foundational principles of psychotherapy has long been to work with a patient to identify the causes of observed psychological distress and then to address those causes as a means of alleviating the distress. The National Institute of Mental Health has promulgated the idea that 75% of adult psychopathology has its origins in childhood experience. Many experienced practitioners in the field of gender dysphoria, including myself, have believed that it makes sense to employ these long-standing tools of psychotherapy for patients suffering gender dysphoria, asking the question as to what factors in the patient’s life are the determinants of the patient’s repudiation of his or her sex. (Levine 2017 at 8; Levine 2021.) I and others have reported success in

alleviating distress in this way for at least some patients, whether the patient's sense of discomfort or incongruence with his or her sex entirely disappeared or not. Relieving accompanying psychological co-morbidities leaves the patient freer to consider the pros and cons of transition as he or she matures.

42. Among other things, the psychotherapist who is applying traditional methods of psychotherapy may help—for example—the male patient appreciate the wide range of masculine emotional and behavioral patterns as he grows older. He may discuss with his patient, for example, that one does not have to become a “woman” in order to be kind, compassionate, caring, noncompetitive, to love the arts, and to be devoted to others' feelings and needs. (Levine 2017 at 7.) Many biologically male trans individuals, from childhood to older ages, speak of their perceptions of femaleness as enabling them to discuss their feelings openly, whereas they perceive boys and men to be constrained from emotional expression within the family and larger culture, and to be aggressive. Men, of course, can be emotionally expressive, just as

they can wear pink. Converse examples can be given for girls and women. These types of ideas regularly arise during psychotherapies.

43. As I note above, many gender-nonconforming children and adolescents in recent years derive from minority and vulnerable groups who have reasons to feel isolated and have an uncomfortable sense of self. A trans identity may be a hopeful attempt to redefine the self in a manner that increases their comfort and decreases their anxiety. The clinician who uses traditional methods of psychotherapy may not focus on their gender identity, but instead work to help them to address the actual sources of their discomfort. Success in this effort may remove or reduce the desire for a redefined identity. This often involves a focus on disruptions in their attachment to parents in vulnerable children, for instance, those in the foster care system.

44. Because “watchful waiting” can include treatment of accompanying psychological co-morbidities, and the psychotherapist who hopes to relieve gender dysphoria may focus on potentially causal sources of psychological distress rather than on the gender dysphoria

itself, there is no sharp line between “watchful waiting” and the psychotherapy model in the case of prepubescent children.

45. To my knowledge, there is no evidence beyond anecdotal reports that psychotherapy can enable a return to male identification for genetically male boys, adolescents, and men, or return to female identification for genetically female girls, adolescents, and women. On the other hand, anecdotal evidence of such outcomes does exist; I and other clinicians have witnessed reinvestment in the patient’s biological sex in some individual patients who are undergoing psychotherapy. The Internet contains many such reports, and I have published a paper on a patient who sought my therapeutic assistance to reclaim his male gender identity after 30 years living as a woman and is in fact living as a man today. (Levine 2019 at 1.) I have seen children desist even before puberty in response to thoughtful parental interactions and a few meetings of the child with a therapist. There are now a series of articles and at least one major book on the psychological treatment of adolescents. ( D’Angelo 2021 at 7-16; Evans 2021.)

### **The affirmation therapy model (Model Four)**

46. While it is widely agreed that the therapist should not immediately directly challenge a claimed transgender identity in a child, some advocates and practitioners go much further, and promote and recommend that any expression of transgender identity should be immediately accepted as decisive, and thoroughly affirmed by means of consistent use of clothing, toys, pronouns, etc., associated with transgender identity. They argue that the child should be comprehensively re-socialized in grade school in their aspired to gender. As I understand it, this is asserted as a reason why male students who assert a female gender identity must be permitted to compete in girls' or women's athletic events and female students who assert a male gender identity must be permitted to participate in scholastically organized male athletic teams. These advocates treat any question about the causes of the child's transgender identification as inappropriate. They may not recognize the child's ambivalence. They assume that observed psychological co-morbidities in the children or their families are unrelated or will get better with transition, and need not be addressed by



the MHP who is providing supportive guidance concerning the child's gender identity. These advocates also do not consider the impact on teammates that may vary from acceptance through neutrality through objection. Each attitude on the spectrum having numerous evolving determinants.

47. Some advocates, indeed, assert that unquestioning affirmation of any claim of transgender identity in children is essential, and that the child will otherwise face a high risk of psychological damage. Dr. Cyperski correctly points out the advantages of participation in organized sports for adolescents and wants these potential benefits for her patients. She emphasizes the negative impact of playing on sports teams consonant with her patients' anatomic and physiologic sex such as stigmatization, increasing distress of gender dysphoria, and disrespecting their privacy but does not mention any potential harms. These might include increasing gender dysphoria because of the physiological differences that become apparent, having to dress in separate facilities, exposure to hostility and ridicule, and becoming the focus of community concern. Implied, however, in Dr.

Cyperski's account is the potential to harm the already vulnerable anxious young trans-identified person. As Dr. Cyperski is aware that gender dysphoria is often associated with ongoing social isolation, anxiety, depression, and suicidality, she appears to see athletic participation only as a positive process. If she is wrong in one or more of these individual circumstances or the child does not have the courage to join a team, more harm than good may eventuate.

48. Dr. Cyperski also asserts that fully supported social transition is the "only treatment for prepubertal children." This is not correct. This may be the only treatment that Dr. Cyperski considers, but my own conversations and contacts lead me to believe that Dr. James Cantor was correct when he wrote that "almost all clinics and professional associations in the world" do not use "gender affirmation" for prepubescent children and instead "delay any transitions after the onset of puberty." (Cantor 2019 at 1.)

I do not know what proportion of practitioners are using which model. However, in my opinion, in the case of young children, prompt and thorough affirmation of a transgender identity disregards the

principles of child development and family dynamics and is not supported by science. Instead of science, this approach is currently being reinforced by an echo-chamber of approval from other like-minded child-oriented professionals who do not sufficiently consider the known negative medical and psychiatric outcomes of trans adults. Rather than recommend social transition in grade school, the MHP must focus attention on the child's underlying internal and familial issues. Ongoing relationships between the MHP and the parents, and the MHP and the child, are vital to help the parents, child, other family members, and the MHP to understand over time the issues that need to be dealt with over time by each of them.

Likewise, since the child's sense of gender develops in interaction with his parents and their own gender roles and relationships, the responsible MHP will almost certainly need to delve into family and marital dynamics.

### **III. THERE IS NO CONSENSUS OR AGREED “STANDARD OF CARE” CONCERNING THERAPEUTIC APPROACHES TO CHILD OR ADOLESCENT GENDER DYSPHORIA.**

49. As I review in separate sections later, there is far too little firm clinical evidence in this field to permit any evidence-based standard of care. Given the lack of scientific evidence, it is neither surprising nor improper that—as I detailed in Section II—there is a diversity of views among practitioners as to as to the best therapeutic response for the child, adolescent, or young adult who suffers from gender dysphoria. Dr. Cyperski is unwittingly confusing therapeutic precedent among those who educated her and agree with her views, armed with ideas promulgated by WPATH and a subcommittee of the American Academy of Pediatrics, with careful scientific primary documentation of her concepts. She presumes that her views have been scientifically established even though much has been published highlighting the lack of supportive definitive evidence.

50. Reviewing the state of opinion and practice in 2021, the Royal Australian and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists observed that “There are polarised views and mixed evidence regarding treatment

options for people presenting with gender identity concerns, especially children and young people.” Similarly, a few years earlier prominent Dutch researchers noted: “[T]here is currently no general consensus about the best approach to dealing with the (uncertain) future development of children with GD, and making decisions that may influence the function and/or development of the child — such as social transition.” (Ristori 2016 at 18.)<sup>2</sup> In this Section, I comment on some of the more important areas of disagreement within the field.

**A. Experts and organizations disagree as to whether “distress” is a necessary element for diagnoses that justifies treatment for gender identity issues.**

51. As outlined in Section II.B above, “clinically significant distress” is one of the criteria used in DSM-5 to identify gender dysphoria. This indicates a heightened level of distress that rises beyond a threshold level of social awkwardness or discomfort with the changing body. It is known that many trans-identified youth with incongruence between their sexed bodies and their gender identity choose not to take

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<sup>2</sup> See also Zucker 2019 which questions the merit of social transition as a first-line treatment.

hormones; their incongruence is quite tolerable as they further clarify their sexual identity elements. This population raises the questions of what distress is being measured when DSM-5 criteria are met and what else might be done about it?

52. I note that there is no “clinically significant distress” requirement in World Health Organization’s International Classification of Diseases (ICD-11) criteria for gender incongruence, which rather indicates “a marked and persistent incongruence between an individual’s experienced gender and the assigned sex.” (World Health Organization 2019).

Therefore, even between these two committee-based authorities, there is a significant disagreement as to what constitutes a gender condition justifying life-changing interventions. To my knowledge, some American gender clinics and practitioners are essentially operating under the ICD-11 criteria rather than the APA’s DSM-5 criteria, prescribing transition for children, hormonal interventions for slightly older children, and different hormones for adolescents who assert a desire for a transgender identity, whether or not they are exhibiting

“clinically significant distress.” Others adhere to the DSM-5 diagnostic standard.

53. I will add that even from within one “school of thought,” such as embodied by Dr. Cyperski, it is not responsible to make a single, categorical statement about the proper treatment of children or adolescents presenting with gender dysphoria or other gender-related issues. There is no single pathway to the development of a trans identity and no reasonably uniform short- or long-term outcome of medically treating it. As individuals grow physically, mature psychologically, and experience or fail to experience satisfying romantic relationships, their life course depends on their differing psychological, social, familial, and life experiences. There should be no trust in assertions that trans-identified youth must be treated in a particular manner to avoid harm for two reasons: first, there is no systematic data on the nature of, and the rate of harms of either affirmative treatment, no treatment, or psychological only treatment. Second, as in other youthful psychiatric and other challenges, outcomes vary.

**B. Opinions and practices vary widely about the utilization of social transition for children and adolescents.**

54. Dr. Cyperski notes that she is a member of the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH), invokes a guidance document that that organization has chosen to publish under the title of a “standard of care,” and asserts that the WPATH Standards of Care are “widely accepted.” Below, I will provide some explanation of WPATH and its “Standards of Care,” which are not the product of a strictly scientific organization, and are by no means accepted by all or even most practitioners as setting out best practices.

Here, however, I will note that WPATH does not take a position concerning whether or when social transition may be appropriate for pre-pubertal children. Instead, the WPATH “Standards of Care” states that the question of social transition for children is a “controversial issue” and calls for mental health professionals to support families in what it describes as “difficult decisions” concerning social transition.

Dr. Erica Anderson is a prominent practitioner in this area who identifies as a transgender woman, who was the first transgender



president of USPATH, and who is a former board member of WPATH. Dr. Anderson recently resigned from those organizations and has condemned automatic approval of transition upon the request of a child or adolescent, noting that “adolescents . . . are notoriously susceptible to peer influence,” that transition “doesn’t cure depression, doesn’t cure anxiety disorders, doesn’t cure autism-spectrum disorder, doesn’t cure ADHD,” and instead that “a comprehensive biopsychosocial evaluation” should proceed allowing a child to transition. (Anderson 2022.) And as I have explained previously, my own view based on 50 years of experience in this area favors strong caution before approving life-altering interventions such as social transition, puberty blockers, or cross-sex hormones.

**C. The WPATH “Standards of Care” is not an impartial or evidence-based document.**

Because WPATH is frequently cited by advocates of social, hormonal, and surgical transition, I provide some context concerning that private organization and its “Standards of Care.”

55. I was a member of the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association from 1974 until 2001. From 1997 through 1998, I served as the Chairman of the eight-person International Standards of Care Committee that issued the fifth version of the Standards of Care. I resigned my membership in 2002 due to my regretful conclusion that the organization and its recommendations had become dominated by politics and ideology, rather than by scientific process, as it was years earlier. In approximately 2007, the Henry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association changed its name to the World Professional Association for Transgender Health.

WPATH is a voluntary membership organization. Since at least 2002, attendance at its biennial meetings has been open to trans individuals who are not licensed professionals. While this ensures taking patients' needs into consideration, it limits the ability for honest and scientific debate, and means that WPATH can no longer be considered a purely professional organization.

WPATH takes a decided view on issues as to which there is a wide range of opinion among professionals. WPATH explicitly views

itself as not merely a scientific organization, but also as an advocacy organization. (Levine 2016 at 240.) WPATH is supportive to those who want sex reassignment surgery (“SRS”). Skepticism as to the benefits of SRS to patients, and strong alternate views, are not well tolerated in discussions within the organization or their educational outreach programs. Such views have been known to be shouted down and effectively silenced by the large numbers of non-professional adults who attend the organization’s biennial meetings. Two groups of individuals that I regularly work with have attended recent and separate WPATH continuing education sessions. There, questions about alternative approaches were quickly dismissed with “There are none. This is how it is done.” Such a response does not accurately reflect what is known, what is unknown, and the diversity of clinical approaches in this complex field.

The Standards of Care (“SOC”) document is the product of an effort to be balanced, but it is not politically neutral. WPATH aspires to be both a scientific organization and an advocacy group for the transgendered. These aspirations sometimes conflict. The limitations of

the Standards of Care, however, are not primarily political. They are caused by the lack of rigorous research in the field, which allows room for passionate convictions on how to care for the transgendered. And, of course, once individuals have socially, medically, and surgically transitioned, WPATH members and the trans people themselves at the meetings are committed to supporting others in their transitions. Not only have some trans participants been distrustful or hostile to those who question the wisdom of these interventions, their presence makes it difficult for professionals to raise their concerns. Vocal trans rights advocates have a worrisome track record of attacking those who have alternative views. (Dreger/Siebold 2015 book citation - Galileo's Middle Finger.)

56. In recent years, WPATH has fully adopted some mix of the medical and civil rights paradigms. Its seventh version downgraded the role of counseling or psychotherapy as a requirement for these life-changing processes. WPATH no longer considers preoperative psychotherapy to be a requirement. It is important to WPATH that the person has gender dysphoria; the pathway to the development of this

state is not. (Levine 2016 at 240.) The trans person is assumed to have thoughtfully considered his or her options before seeking hormones, for instance.

Most psychiatrists and psychologists who treat patients suffering sufficiently severe distress from gender dysphoria to seek inpatient psychiatric care are not members of WPATH. Many psychiatrists, psychologists, and pediatricians who treat some patients suffering gender dysphoria on an outpatient basis are not members of WPATH. WPATH represents a self-selected subset of the profession along with its many non-professional members; it does not capture the clinical experiences of others. WPATH claims to speak for the medical profession; however, it does not welcome skepticism and therefore, deviates from the philosophical core of medical science. There are pediatricians, psychiatrists, endocrinologists, and surgeons who object strongly, on professional grounds, to transitioning children and providing affirmation in a transgender identity as the first treatment option. WPATH does not speak for all of the medical profession.

In 2010 the WPATH Board of Directors issued a statement advocating that incongruence between sex and felt gender identity should cease to be identified in the DSM as a pathology.<sup>3</sup> This position was debated but not adopted by the (much larger) American Psychiatric Association, which maintained the definitions and diagnoses of gender dysphoria as a pathology in the DSM-5 manual issued in 2013.

In my experience some current members of WPATH have little ongoing experience with the mentally ill, and many trans care facilities are staffed by MHPs who are not deeply experienced with recognizing and treating frequently associated psychiatric and sexual co-morbidities. Further, being a mental health professional, per se, does not guarantee experience and skill in recognizing and effectively intervening in serious or subtle patterns. Because the 7th version of the WPATH SOC deleted the requirement for therapy, trans care facilities that consider these Standards sufficient are permitting patients to be

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<sup>3</sup> WPATH *De-Psychopathologisation Statement* (May 26, 2010), available at [wpath.org/policies](http://wpath.org/policies) (last accessed January 21, 2020).

counseled to transition by means of social presentation, hormones, and surgery by individuals with masters rather than medical degrees.

**D. Opinions and practices differ widely with respect to the proper role of psychological counseling before, as part of, or after a diagnosis of gender dysphoria.**

57. In Version 7 of its Standards of Care, released in 2012, WPATH downgraded the role of counseling or psychotherapy, and the organization no longer sees psychotherapy without transition and hormonal interventions as a potential path to eliminate gender dysphoria by enabling a patient to return to or achieve comfort with the gender identity aligned with his or her biology.

Around the world, many prominent voices and practitioners disagree. For example, renowned gender therapists Dr. Laura Edwards-Leeper and Dr. Erica Anderson (who, as mentioned above, identifies as a transgender woman) have recently spoken out arguing that children and adolescents are being subjected to puberty blockers and hormonal intervention far too quickly, when careful and extended psychotherapy and investigation for potential causes of feelings of dysphoria (such as

prior sexual abuse) should be the first port of call and might resolve the dysphoria. (Edwards-Leeper and Anderson 2021; Anderson 2022.)

In a recently published position statement on gender dysphoria, the Royal Australian and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists emphasized the critical nature of mental health treatment for gender dysphoric minors, stressing “the importance of the psychiatrist’s role to undertake thorough assessment and evidence-based treatment ideally as part of a multidisciplinary team, especially highlighting co-existing issues which may need addressing and treating.” The Royal College also emphasized the importance of assessing the “psychological state and context in which Gender Dysphoria has arisen,” before any treatment decisions are made.

Dr. Paul Hruz of the University of Washington St. Louis Medical School has noted, “The WPATH has rejected psychological counseling as a viable means to address sex–gender discordance with the claim that this approach has been proven to be unsuccessful and is harmful (Coleman et al. 2012). Yet the evidence cited to support this assertion, mostly from case reports published over forty years ago,



includes data showing patients who benefited from this approach (Cohen-Kettenis and Kuiper 1984).” (Hruz 2020.)

**E. Opinions and practices vary widely with respect to the administration of puberty blockers and cross-sex hormones.**

58. There is likewise no broadly accepted standard of care with respect to use of puberty blockers. The WPATH Standard of Care explicitly recognizes the lack of any consensus on this important point, stating: “Among adolescents who are referred to gender identity clinics, the number considered eligible for early medical treatment—starting with GnRH analogues to suppress puberty in the first Tanner stages—differs among countries and centers. Not all clinics offer puberty suppression. . . . The percentages of treated adolescents are likely influenced by the organization of health care, insurance aspects, cultural differences, opinions of health professionals, and diagnostic procedures offered in different settings.”

The use of puberty blockers as a therapeutic intervention for gender dysphoria is often justified by reference to the seminal work of a respected Dutch research team that developed a protocol that

administered puberty blockers to children no younger than age 14. However, it is well known that many clinics in North America now administer puberty blockers to children at much younger ages than the “Dutch Protocol” allows. (Zucker 2019.) The Dutch protocol only treated children with these characteristics: a stable cross-gender identity from early childhood; whose dysphoria worsened with the onset of puberty; but were otherwise psychologically healthy; and had healthy families; who agreed to individual and family counselling throughout the protocol. But the experience and results of the Dutch model is being used as a justification for giving puberty blockers to children who differ considerably from these criteria. Its authors have also recently noted this fact. (de Vries 2020.)

As it relates to the administration of cross-sex hormones, Zucker notes that “it is well known” that clinicians are administering cross-sex hormones, and approving surgery, at ages lower than the minimum age thresholds set by the respected “Dutch Protocol.” (Zucker 2019.)

Similarly, at least one prominent clinic—that of Dr. Safer at Columbia’s Mt. Sinai Medical Center—is quite openly admitting patients for even *surgical* transition who are not eligible under the criteria set out in WPATH’s standard of care. A recent study published by Dr. Safer and colleagues revealed that of a sample of 139 individuals, 45% were eligible for surgery “immediately” under the center’s own criteria, while only 15% were eligible under WPATH’s criteria. That is, *three times* as many patients immediately qualified for surgery under the center’s loose standards than would have qualified under WPATH criteria. (Lichenstein 2020.)

59. Internationally, there has been a recent marked trend *against* use of puberty blockers, as a result of extensive evidence reviews by national medical bodies, which I discuss later. The main gender clinic in Sweden has declared that it will no longer authorize use of puberty blockers for minors below the age of 16. Finland has similarly reversed its course; issuing new guidelines that allow puberty blockers only on a case-by-case basis after an extensive psychiatric assessment. A landmark legal challenge against the UK’s National Health Service in 2020 by

“detransitioner” Keira Bell led to the suspension of the use of puberty blockers and new procedures to ensure better psychological care, as well as prompting a thorough evidence review by the National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE).<sup>4</sup> France changed its policy about puberty blockers and cross-sex hormones in 2022; urging psychotherapy to be the initial approach.

In this country, some voices in the field are now publicly arguing that *no* comprehensive mental health assessment at all should be required before putting teens on puberty blockers or cross-sex hormones (New York Times 2022), while Dr. Anderson and Dr. Edwards-Leeper argue that U.S. practitioners are already moving too quickly to hormonal interventions. (Edwards-Leeper and Anderson 2021; Anderson 2022.) It is evident that opinions and practices are all over the map.

It is true that a committee of the American Academy of Pediatrics has issued a statement supporting administration of puberty blockers to children diagnosed with gender dysphoria. It is also true that

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<sup>4</sup> The decision requiring court approval for administration of hormones to any person younger than age 16 was later reversed on procedural grounds by the Court of Appeal and is currently under consideration by the UK Supreme Court.

no other American medical association has endorsed the use of puberty blockers, and that pediatricians are neither endocrinologists nor psychiatrists. Dr. James Cantor published a peer-reviewed paper detailing that the Academy's statement is not evidence-based and misdescribed the few scientific sources it did reference. (Cantor 2019.) It has been well noted in the field that the AAP has declined invitations to publish any rebuttal to Dr. Cantor's analysis. But this is all part of ongoing debate, simply highlighting the absence of any generally agreed standard of care.

The Endocrine Society's 2017 Practice Guidelines on Treatment of Gender-Dysphoric/Gender-Incongruent Persons (Hembree 2017) is used to justify hormonal treatment even though their document emphasizes the very low and low quality of scientific evidence for their "strong recommendations" for puberty blockers and cross-sex hormones. Their Guidelines themselves expressly state that they are *not* "standards of care." "The guidelines cannot guarantee any specific outcome. This is the meaning of low quality evidence. The guidelines are not intended to dictate the treatment of a particular patient." (Hembree 2017 at 2895

(emphasis added).), nor do the Guidelines claim to be the result of a “rigorous scientific process.” Notably, the Guidelines do not make any firm statement that use of puberty blockers for this purpose *is* safe, and the Guidelines go no further than “suggest[ing]” use of puberty blockers—language the Guidelines warn represents only a “weak recommendation.” (Hembree 2017 at 3872.) The guidelines are inconsistent within the 32-page document. Several authors have pointed out that not only were the Endocrine Society suggestions regarding use of puberty blockers reached on the basis of “low quality” evidence, but its not-quite claims of ‘safety’ and ‘efficacy’ are starkly contradicted by several in-depth evidence reviews. (Laidlaw, 2019; Malone 2021.) I detail these contradictory findings in more detail in Section VII below.

60. While there is too little meaningful clinical data and no consensus concerning best practices or a “standard of care” this area, there are long-standing ethical principles that do or should bind all medical and mental health professionals as they work with, counsel, and prescribe for these individuals.

One of the oldest and most fundamental principles guiding medical and psychological care—part of the Hippocratic Oath—is that the physician must “do no harm.” This states an ethical responsibility that cannot be delegated to the patient. Physicians themselves must weigh the risks of treatment against the harm of not treating. If the risks of treatment outweigh the benefits, ethics prohibit the treatment.

#### **IV. TRANSGENDER IDENTITY IS NOT BIOLOGICALLY BASED.**

61. Many advocates of affirmative care assert this belief (Safer). Nonetheless, in an article, Dr. Safer referred to data that he asserted supports the existence of “a fixed, biologic basis for gender identity.” (Saraswat 2015 at 199.) Saraswat, however, states that studies attempting to find an association between genetics and transgender identification “have been contradictory,” and that “no statistically significant association between particular genes [and transgender identity] has been described.” (Saraswat 2015 at 201.) There is no scientific consensus that transgender identity has any biological basis

even though few would assert that biology plays no role in a child's adolescent's, or adult's fate in life.

62. No theory of biological basis has been scientifically validated. At the outset, the attempt to identify a single “typically . . . biological” cause for psychiatric conditions (including gender dysphoria) has been strongly criticized as “out of step with the rest of medicine” and as a lingering “ghost” of an understanding of the nature of psychiatric conditions that is now broadly disproven. (Kendler 2019 at 1088-1089.) Gender dysphoria is defined and diagnosed only as a psychiatric, not a medical, condition.

Similarly, while some have pointed to very small brain scan studies as evidence of a biological basis, no studies of brain structure of individuals identifying as transgender have found any statistically significant correlation between any distinct structure or pattern and transgender identification, after controlling for sexual orientation and exposure to exogenous hormones. (Sarawat 2015 at 201; Frigerio 2021)

Indeed, the Endocrine Society 2017 Guidelines recognizes: “With current knowledge, we cannot predict the psychosexual outcome



for any specific child” and “there are currently no criteria to identify the GD/gender-incongruent children to whom this applies. At the present time, clinical experience suggests that persistence of GD/gender incongruence can only be reliably assessed after the first signs of puberty.”

In short, no biological test or measurement has been identified that provides any ability to predict which children will exhibit, and which children will persist in, gender dysphoria or a transgender identification. Unless and until such a test is identified, the theory of a biological basis is a hypothesis still searching for support. A hypothesis is not a fact, and responsible scientists will not confuse hypothesis with fact.

**A. Large changes across time and geography in the epidemiology of transgender identification are inconsistent with the hypothesis of a biological basis for transgender identity.**

63. In fact, there is substantial evidence that the “biological basis” is incorrect, at least with respect to the large majority of patients presenting with gender dysphoria today.

**a. Vast changes in incidence:** Historically, there were very low reported rates of gender dysphoria or transgender identification. In 2013, the DSM-5 estimated the incidence of gender dysphoria in adults to be at 2-14 per 100,000, or between 0.002% and 0.014%. (APA 2013 at 454.) Recently however, these numbers have increased dramatically, particularly in adolescent populations. Recent surveys estimate that between 2-9% of high school students identified as transgender or “gender non-conforming.” with a significantly large increase in adolescents claiming “nonbinary” gender identity as well. (Johns 2019; Kidd 2021.) Consistent with these surveys, gender clinics around the world have seen numbers of referrals increase rapidly in the last decade, with the Tavistock clinic in London seeing a 30-fold increase in the last decade (GIDS 2019), and similar increases being observed in Finland (Kaltiala-Heino 2018), the Netherlands (de Vries 2020), and Canada (Zucker 2019). The rapid change in the number of individuals experiencing gender dysphoria points to social and cultural, not biological, causes.

**b. Large change in sex ratio:** In recent years there has been a marked shift in the sex ratio of patients presenting with gender dysphoria or transgender identification. The Tavistock clinic in London saw a ratio of 4 biological females(F):5 biological males(M) shift to essentially 11F:4M in a decade. (GIDS 2019.) One researcher summarizing multiple sources documented a swing of 1F:2M or 1F:1.4M through 2005 to 2F:1M generally (but as high as 7F:1M) in more recent samples. (Zucker 2019.) This phenomenon has been noted by Dr. Erica Anderson, who said: “The data are very clear that adolescent girls are coming to gender clinics in greater proportion than adolescent boys. And this is a change in the last couple of years. And it’s an open question: What do we make of that? We don’t really know what’s going on. And we should be concerned about it.” (Anderson 2022.) Again, this large and rapid change in who is experiencing gender dysphoria points to social, not biological, causes.

**c. Clustering:** Dr. Littman’s recent study documented “clustering” of new presentations of gender dysphoria among natal females in specific schools and among specific friend groups. This again points

strongly to social causes for gender dysphoria at least among the adolescent female population. (Littman 2019.)

**d. Desistence:** As I discuss later, there are very high levels of desistence among children diagnosed with gender dysphoria, as well as increasing (or at least increasingly vocal) numbers of individuals who first asserted a transgender identity during or after adolescence, underwent substantial medical interventions to “affirm” that trans-identity, and then “desisted” and reverted to a gender identity congruent with their sex. (See Section V.B below.) These narratives, too, point to a social and/or psychological cause, rather than a biological one.

**e. “Fluid” gender identification:** Advocates and some practitioners assert that gender identity is not binary, but can span an almost endless range of gender identity self-labels, which a given individual may try on, inhabit, and often discard. (A recent article identifies 72.<sup>5</sup>) I have not heard any theory offered for how there is or

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<sup>5</sup> Allarakha, *What Are the 72 Other Genders?*, MedicineNet, available at: [https://www.medicinenet.com/what\\_are\\_the\\_72\\_other\\_genders/article.htm](https://www.medicinenet.com/what_are_the_72_other_genders/article.htm)

could be a biological basis for gender identity as now expansively defined.

64. I frequently read attempts to explain away these five points. They include: these problems always existed, but children are now learning that there are effective treatments for their dilemma and are simply seeking them. And, children have hidden their trans identity throughout childhood and now that trans people are recognized and accepted, they are presenting themselves. And, now pediatricians realize that girls can have gender dysphoria and are referring them to gender clinics. But these are all based on an idea that transgenderism is an entity that has always existed in culture, everywhere and modern people are simply discovering what previous generations could not discover about their true, genuine, non-sex-dictated gendered self. The increased incidence and prevalence are indisputable facts recorded all over the world. Thus, culture, fashion, and nonbiological factors must be at work. One set of unproven hypotheses cannot provide support for the unproven hypothesis of biological basis. And none of these hypotheses

could even potentially explain the failure of science thus far to identify any predictive biological marker of transgender identification.

65. **Therapies affect gender identity outcomes:** Finally, the evidence shows that therapeutic choices can have a powerful effect on whether and how gender identity does change, or gender dysphoria desists. Social transition of juveniles, for instance, strongly influences gender identity outcomes to such an extent that it has been described a “unique predictor of persistence.” (See Section V.B below.) Again, this observation cuts against the hypothesis of biological origin.

**B. Disorders of sexual development (or DSDs) and gender identity are very different phenomena, and it is an error to conflate the two.**

66. The many forms of DSDs are biological phenomena.. Every DSD reflects either a genetic enzymatic defect with negative anatomic and physiological consequences. As the Endocrine Society recognized in a 2021 statement: “Given the complexities of the biology of sexual determination and differentiation, it is not surprising that there are dozens of examples of variations or errors in these pathways associated with genetic mutations that are now well known to endocrinologists and

geneticists; in medicine, these situations are generally termed *disorders of sexual development* (DSD) or *differences in sexual development*.”

Gender Identity on the other hand is uniformly defined as a subjective “sense” of being, a feeling or state of mind. (Section II.C.)

The vast majority of those who experience gender dysphoria or a transgender identity do not suffer from any DSD, nor from any genetic enzymatic disorder at all. Conversely, many who suffer from a DSD do not experience a gender identity different from their chromosomal sex (although some may). In short, those who suffer from gender dysphoria are not a subset of those who suffer from a DSD, nor are those who suffer from a DSD a subset of those who suffer from gender dysphoria. The two are simply different phenomena, one physical, the other mental, defined only as a psychiatric condition. The issue here is not whether biological forces play a role in personality development; it is whether there is strong evidence that it is determinative. Science has come too far to revert to single explanations for gender dysphoria or any psychiatric diagnosis.

67. The importance of this distinction is evident from the scientific literature. For example, in a recent study of clinical outcomes for gender dysphoric patients, Tavistock Clinic researchers *excluded* from their analysis any patients who did not have “normal endocrine function and karyotype consistent with birth registered sex.” (Carmichael 2021 at 4.) In other words, the researchers specifically *excluded* from their study anyone who suffered from genetic-based DSD, or a DSD comprising any serious defect in hormonal use pathways, in order to ensure the study was focused only on individuals experiencing the psychological effects of what we might call “ordinary” gender dysphoria.

**C. Studies of individuals born with DSDs suggest that there may be a biological predisposition towards *typical* gender identifications, but provide no support for a biological basis for *transgender* identification.**

68. Studies of individuals born with serious DSDs have been pointed to as evidence of a biological basis for transgender identification. They provide no such support. Meyer-Bahlburg reviewed the case histories of a number of XY (i.e. biologically male) individuals



born with severe DSDs who were surgically “feminized” in infancy and raised as girls. (Meyer-Bahlburg 2005.) The majority of these individuals nevertheless later adopted male gender identity—suggesting a strong biological predisposition towards identification aligned with genetic sex, even in the face of feminized genitalia from earliest childhood, and parental “affirmation” in a transgender identity. But at the same time, the fact that some of these genetically male individuals did *not* later adopt male gender identity serves as evidence that medical and social influences can indeed encourage and sustain transgender identification.

Importantly, the Meyer-Bahlburg study did *not* include any individuals who were assigned a gender identity congruent with their genetic sex who subsequently adopted a *transgender* identity. Therefore, the study can provide no evidence of any kind that supports the hypothesis of a biological basis for *transgender* identity. A second study (Reiner 2004) of XY subjects similarly provides evidence only for a biological bias towards a gender identity congruent with one’s genetic sex, even in the face of medical and social “transition” interventions.

None of this provides any evidence at all of a biological basis for transgender identity.

**V. GENDER IDENTITY IS EMPIRICALLY NOT FIXED FOR MANY INDIVIDUALS.**

69. It is not uncommon to read papers by advocates and clinicians that a trans identity is “durable and cannot be changed by medical intervention”—that gender identity is immutable and impervious to medical, psychotherapeutic, or developmental processes. Let’s look at the evidence.

**A. Most children who experience gender dysphoria ultimately “desist” and resolve to their original identification.**

70. A distinctive and critical characteristic of juvenile gender dysphoria is that multiple studies from separate groups and at different times have reported that in the large majority of patients, absent a substantial intervention such as social transition or puberty blocking hormone therapy, it does *not* persist through puberty.

A recent article reviewed all existing follow-up studies that the author could identify of children diagnosed with gender dysphoria

(11 studies), and reported that “every follow-up study of GD children, without exception, found the same thing: By puberty, the majority of GD children ceased to want to transition.” (Cantor 2019 at 1.) Another author reviewed the existing studies and reported that in “prepubertal boys with gender discordance . . . the cross-gender wishes usually fade over time and do not persist into adulthood, with only 2.2% to 11.9% continuing to experience gender discordance.” (Singh 2021; see also Cohen-Kettinis 2008 at 1895.) The Endocrine Society recognized this important baseline fact in its 2017 Guidelines. (Hembree 2017 at 3879.) It should be noted that the reason that the Dutch Protocol waited until age 14 to initiate puberty blockers was that it was well known that most kids desisted by then (deVries et al, 2011).

Findings of high levels of desistance among children who experience gender dysphoria or incongruence have been reaffirmed in the face of critiques through thorough reanalysis of the underlying data. (Zucker 2019.). It is not yet known how to distinguish those children who will desist from that small minority whose trans identity will persist.

It does appear that prevailing circumstances during particularly formative years can have a significant impact on the outcome of a juvenile's gender dysphoria. A 2016 study reviewing the follow-up literature noted that "the period between 10 and 13 years" was "crucial" in that "both persisters and desisters stated that the changes in their social environment, the anticipated and actual feminization or masculinization of their bodies, and the first experiences of falling in love and sexual attraction in this period, contributed to an increase (in the persisters) or decrease (in the desisters) of their gender related interests, behaviors, and feelings of gender discomfort." (Ristori 2016 at 16.) There is considerable evidence that early transition and affirmation in a transgender child causes far more children to persist in a transgender identity.

**B. Desistence is increasingly observed among teens and young adults who first manifest GD during or after adolescence.**

71. Desistance within a relatively short period may also be a common outcome for post-pubertal youths who exhibit recently described "rapid onset gender disorder." I have observed an increasingly

vocal online community of young women who have reclaimed a female identity after claiming a male gender identity at some point during their teen years, and young “detransitioners” (individuals in the process of reidentifying with their birth sex after having undergone a gender transition) are now receiving increasing attention in both clinical literature and social media channels. De-transitioned individuals organized an all day program on March 12, 2022, entitled Detransition Awareness Day.

Almost all scientific articles on this topic have appeared within the last few years. Perhaps this historic lack of coverage is not entirely surprising – one academic who undertook an extensive review of the available scientific literature in 2021 noted that the phenomenon was “socially controversial” in that it “poses significant professional and bioethical challenges for those clinicians working in the field of gender dysphoria.” (Expósito Campos 2021 at 270.) This review reported on multifarious reasons for why individuals were motivated to detransition, which included coming to “understand[ ] how past trauma, internalized

sexism, and other psychological difficulties influenced the experience of GD.”

In 2021, Lisa Littman of Brown University conducted a ground-breaking study of 100 teenage and young adults who had transitioned and lived in a transgender identity for a number of years, and then “detransitioned” or changed back to a gender identity matching their sex. Littman noted that the “visibility of individuals who have detransitioned is new and may be rapidly growing.” (Littman 2021 at 1.) Of the 100 detransitioners included in Littman’s study, 60% reported that their decision to detransition was motivated (at least in part) by the fact that they had become more comfortable identifying as their sex, and 38% had concluded that their gender dysphoria was caused by something specific such as trauma, abuse, or a mental health condition. A significant majority (76%) did not inform their clinicians of their detransition. (Littman 2021.)

72. A similar study that recruited a sample of 237 detransitioners (the large majority of whom had initially transitioned in their teens or early twenties) similarly reported that a common reason for

detransitioning was the subject's conclusion that his or her gender dysphoria was related to other issues (70% of the sample). (Vandenbussche 2021.)

The existence of increasing number youth or young adult detransitioners has also been recently noted by Dr. Edwards-Leeper and Dr. Anderson. (Edwards-Leeper and Anderson 2021.) Edwards-Leeper and Anderson noted "the rising number of detransitioners that clinicians report seeing (they are forming support groups online)" which are "typically youth who experienced gender dysphoria and other complex mental health issues, rushed to medicalize their bodies and regretted it." Other clinicians working with detransitioners have also noted the recent phenomenon. (Marchiano 2020.)

73. A growing body of evidence suggests that for many teens and young adults, a post-pubertal onset of transgender identification can be a transient phase of identity exploration, rather than a permanent identity, as evidenced by a growing number of young detransitioners (Entwistle, 2020; Littman, 2021; Vandenbussche, 2021). Previously, the rate of detransition and regret was reported to be very low, although these

estimates suffered from significant limitations and were likely undercounting true regret (D'Angelo, 2018). As gender-affirmative care has become popularized, the rate of detransition appears to be accelerating.

74. Two recent studies have begun to generate data on detransitioning by defined durations. Data from an VIUK adult gender clinic, observed that 6.9% of those treated with gender-affirmative interventions detransitioned within 16 months, and another 3.4% had a pattern of care suggestive of detransition, yielding a rate of probable detransition in excess of 10%. Another 21.7%, however, disengaged from the clinic without completing their treatment plan. While some of these individuals later re-engaged with the gender service, the authors concluded, “detransitioning might be more frequent than previously reported.” (Hall 2021).

Another study from a UK primary care practice found that 12.2% of those who had started hormonal treatments either detransitioned or documented regret, while the total of 20% stopped the treatments for a wider range of reasons. The mean age of their



presentation with gender dysphoria was 20, and the patients had been taking gender-affirming hormones for the average 5 years (17 months-10 years) prior to discontinuing. Comparing these much higher rates of treatment discontinuation and detransition to the significantly lower rates reported by the older studies, the researchers noted: “Thus, the detransition rate found in this population is novel and questions may be raised about the phenomenon of overdiagnosis, overtreatment, or iatrogenic harm as found in other medical fields” (Boyd 2022 at 15). Indeed, given that regret may take up to 8-11 years to materialize (Dhejne et al., 2014; Wiepjes et al., 2018), many more detransitioners are likely to emerge in the coming years. Detransition research is still in its infancy, but the Littman and Vandebussche studies in 2021 report that detransitioners from the recently transitioning cohorts feel they had been rushed to medical gender-affirmative interventions with irreversible effects, often without the benefit of appropriate, or in some instances any, psychologic exploration.

## **VI. TRANSITION AND AFFIRMATION IS AN IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MEDICAL INTERVENTION THAT CHANGES GENDER IDENTITY OUTCOMES**

75. If both a typical gender or a transgender long-term gender identity outcome are possible for a particular patient, the alternatives are not medically neutral. Where a juvenile experiences gender dysphoria, the gender identity that is stabilized will have a significant impact on the course of their life. Living in a transgender identity for a time will make desistence, if it is ever considered, more difficult to accomplish. If the juvenile desists from the gender dysphoria and becomes reasonably comfortable with a gender identity congruent with their sex—the most likely outcome from a statistical perspective absent affirming intervention—the child will not require ongoing pharmaceutical maintenance and will not have their fertility destroyed post-puberty.

76. However, if the juvenile persists in a transgender identity, under current practices, the child is most likely to require regular administration of hormones for the rest of their lives, exposing them to significant physical, mental health, and relational risks (which I detail below), as well as being irreversibly sterilized chemically and/or

surgically. The child is therefore rendered a “patient for life” with complex medical implications further to a scientifically unproven course of treatment.

77. Social transition of young children is a powerful psychotherapeutic intervention that radically changes outcomes, almost eliminating desistance. Some child-focused medical and psychological professionals believe that social transition is a critical part of the treatment of gender dysphoria of childhood. What has already been demonstrated is that, social transition has a critical *effect* on the persistence of gender dysphoria. It is evident from the scientific literature that engaging in therapy that encourages social transition before or during puberty is a psychotherapeutic intervention that dramatically changes outcomes. Such an early intervention would understandably lead to the wish for the young trans person to participate on athletic teams and all other scholastic activities designated for the opposite sex. A prominent group of authors has written that “The gender identity affirmed during puberty appears to predict the gender identity that will persist into adulthood.” (Guss 2015

at 421.) Similarly, a comparison of recent and older studies suggests that when an “affirming” methodology is used with children, a substantial proportion of children who would otherwise have desisted by adolescence—that is, achieved comfort identifying with their sex—instead persist in a transgender identity. (Zucker 2018 at 7.)<sup>6</sup> This introduces us to an ethical question: If the majority of cross-gender identified children are known to desist, how can it be ethical to socialize them in the opposite gender when that “treatment” increases the likelihood of persistence, which in turn places them on a problematic pathway?

78. A review of multiple studies of children treated for gender dysphoria across the last three decades found that early social transition to living as the opposite sex severely reduces the likelihood that the child will revert to identifying with the child’s sex, at least in the case of boys. Studies conducted before the widespread use of social transition

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<sup>6</sup> One study found that social transition by the child was found to be strongly correlated with persistence for natal boys, but not for girls. (Zucker 2018 at 5.) One researcher observed that a partial or complete gender social transition prior to puberty “proved to be a unique predictor of persistence.” (Singh 2021 at 14.)

for young children reported desistance rates in the range of 80-98%, a more recent study reported that fewer than 20% of boys who engaged in a partial or complete social transition before puberty had desisted when surveyed at age 15 or older. (Zucker 2018 at 7; Steensma 2013.)<sup>7</sup>

Another researcher observed that a partial or complete gender social transition prior to puberty “proved to be a unique predictor of persistence.” (Singh 2021 at 14.)

Some vocal practitioners of prompt affirmation and social transition even proudly claim that essentially *no* children who come to their clinics exhibiting gender dysphoria or cross-gender identification desist in that identification and return to a gender identity consistent with their biological sex.<sup>8</sup> This is a very large change as compared to the desistance rates documented apart from social transition.

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<sup>7</sup> Only 2 (3.6%) of 56 of the male desisters observed by Steensma et al. had made a complete or partial transition prior to puberty, and of the twelve males who made a complete or partial transition prior to puberty, only two had desisted when surveyed at age 15 or older. Steensma 2013 at 584.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Ehrensaft 2015 at 34: “In my own clinical practice . . . of those children who are carefully assessed as transgender and who are allowed to transition to their affirmed gender, we have no documentation of a child who has ‘desisted’ and asked to return to his or her assigned gender.”

Even voices generally supportive of prompt affirmation and social transition are acknowledging a causal connection between social transition and this change in outcomes. As the Endocrine Society recognized in its 2017 Guidelines: “If children have completely socially transitioned, they may have great difficulty in returning to the original gender role upon entering puberty. . . [S]ocial transition (in addition to GD/gender incongruence) has been found to contribute to the likelihood of persistence.” (Hembree 2017 at 3879.) A researcher writing in 2015 reported that “The gender identity affirmed during puberty appears to predict the gender identity that will persist into adulthood.” (Guss 2015 at 2.) The fact is that these unproven interventions with the lives of kids and their families have systematically documented outcomes. Given this observed phenomenon, I agree with Dr. Ken Zucker who has written that social transition in children must be considered “a form of psychosocial treatment.” (Zucker 2019 at 1.)

Moreover, as I review below, social transition cannot be considered or decided alone. Studies show that engaging in social transition starts a juvenile on a “conveyor belt” path that almost

inevitably leads to the administration of puberty blockers, which in turn almost inevitably leads to the administration of cross-sex hormones. The emergence of this well-documented path means that the implications of taking puberty blockers *and* cross-sex hormones must be taken into account even where “only” social transition is being considered or requested by the child or family. As a result, there are a number of important “known risks” associated with social transition.

**A. Administration of puberty blockers is a powerful medical and psychotherapeutic intervention that radically changes outcomes, almost eliminating desistance on the historically observed timeline.**

79. Advocates of puberty blocking hormones have long spoken of this intervention as merely a pause. While puberty reorganizes human development both biologically, socially, and psychologically, the idea of a pause without consequences is naïve at best. It should be understood that puberty blockers are usually administered to children as young as 8-9 now as part of a program path that includes social transition. Moreover, medicine does not know what the long-term health effects on bone, brain, and other organs are of a “pause” between ages 11-16.

Medicine also does not know if the long-term effects of these compounds are different in boys than in girls. The mental health professional establishment likewise does not know the long-term effects on coping skills, interpersonal comfort, and intimate relationships of this “pause” while one’s peers are undergoing their maturational gains in these vital arenas of future mental health. Puberty blockade should not be simply viewed a medical intervention; it also in a psychosocial one with complex implications. Advocates don’t have evidence that it is safe except in a short-term medical sense and that some form of puberty will resume if they are stopped without administering cross-sex hormones.

80. Multiple studies show that the large majority of children who begin puberty blockers go on to receive cross-sex hormones. (de Vries 2020 at 2.) A recent study by the Tavistock and Portman NHS Gender Identity Development Service (UK)—the world’s largest gender clinic—



found that 98% of adolescents who underwent puberty suppression continued on to cross-sex hormones. (Carmichael 2021.)<sup>9</sup>

These studies demonstrate that going on puberty blockers virtually eliminates the possibility of desistance in juveniles. Puberty blockers appear to act as a psychosocial “switch,” decisively shifting many children to a persistent transgender identity. Therefore, as a practical and ethical matter the decision to put a child on puberty blockers must be considered as the equivalent of a decision to put that child on cross-sex hormones, with all the considerations and informed consent obligations implicit in that decision.

**VII. TRANSITION AND AFFIRMATION ARE STILL EXPERIMENTAL THERAPIES BECAUSE THEY HAVE NOT BEEN CONVINCINGLY SHOWN TO IMPROVE MENTAL OR PHYSICAL HEALTH OUTCOMES BY YOUNG ADULTHOOD.**

81. It is undisputed that children and adolescents who present with gender dysphoria exhibit a very high level of mental health comorbidities. (Thompson et al, 2022) It is highly disputed whether the

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<sup>9</sup> See also Brik 2020 where Dutch researchers found nearly 97% of adolescents who received puberty blockers proceeded to cross-sex hormones.

gender dysphoria is cause of these various mental illness symptom patterns, or the product of these underlying maladaptive patterns, or whether these are merely coincident comorbidities. But the basic fact of the high prevalence of these co-morbidities is not. When one considers the many indicators of poor mental health among adult trans communities, it may be that hormonal and subsequent surgical affirmations actually don't eradicate the earlier in life indicators of mental health problems. They may only distract the patient and their caregivers from the significance of these co-morbidities. Many pediatric professionals assume from their brief short-term visits with their endocrine treated adolescent patients that the hormones improved their happiness, mental health, social function, and ameliorated their gender dysphoria. This is scientifically incorrect. It ignores both what is known from independent reviews and what is unknown from the lack of scientifically meaningful follow up.

**A. The knowledge base concerning therapies for gender dysphoria is “very low quality.”**

82. At the outset, it is important for all sides to admit that the knowledge base concerning the causes and treatment of gender dysphoria has low scientific quality.

83. In evaluating claims of scientific or medical knowledge, it is axiomatic in science that no knowledge is absolute, and to recognize the widely accepted hierarchy of reliability when it comes to “knowledge” about medical or psychiatric phenomena and treatments. Unfortunately, in this field opinion is too often confused with knowledge, rather than clearly locating what exactly is scientifically known. In order of increasing confidence, such “knowledge” may be based upon data comprising:

- a. Expert opinion—it is perhaps surprising to educated laypersons that expert opinion standing alone is the lowest form of knowledge, the least likely to be proven correct in the future, and therefore does not garner as much respect from professionals as what follows;

- b. A single case or series of cases (what could be called anecdotal evidence) (Levine, *Reflections*, at 239.);
- c. A series of cases with a control group;
- d. A cohort study;
- e. A randomized double-blind clinical trial;
- f. A review of multiple trials;
- g. A meta-analysis of multiple trials that maximizes the number of patients treated despite their methodological differences to detect trends from larger data sets.

Prominent voices in the field have emphasized the severe lack of scientific knowledge in this field. The American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry has recognized that “Different clinical approaches have been advocated for childhood gender discordance. . . . There have been no randomized controlled trials of any treatment. . . . [T]he proposed benefits of treatment to eliminate gender discordance . . . must be carefully weighed against . . . possible deleterious effects.” (Adelson et al., *Practice Parameter*, at 968–69.) Similarly, the American Psychological Association has stated, “because no approach to working

with [transgender and gender nonconforming] children has been adequately, empirically validated, consensus does not exist regarding best practice with pre-pubertal children.”<sup>10</sup>

84. Critically, “there are no randomized control trials with regard to treatment of children with gender dysphoria.” (Zucker 2018 at 8.) On numerous critical questions relating to cause, developmental path if untreated, and the effect of alternative treatments, the knowledge base remains primarily at the level of the practitioner’s exposure to individual cases, or multiple individual cases. As a result, claims to certainty are not justifiable. (Levine 2016 at 239.)

85. Within the last two years, at least three formal evidence reviews concerning hormonal interventions for gender dysphoria have been conducted. All three found all of the available clinical evidence to be very low quality. The British National Health Service (NHS) commissioned formal “evidence reviews” of all clinical papers concerning the efficacy and safety of puberty blockers and cross-sex

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<sup>10</sup> American Psychological Association, *Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Transgender & Gender Nonconforming People* (2015), AM. PSYCHOLOGIST 70(9) 832 at 842.

hormones as treatments for gender dysphoria. These evidence reviews were performed by the U.K. National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE), applying the respected “GRADE” criteria for evaluating the strength of clinical evidence.

Both the review of evidence concerning puberty blockers and the review of evidence concerning cross-sex hormones were published in 2020, and both found that *all* available evidence as to both efficacy and safety was “very low quality” according to the GRADE criteria. (NICE 2020a; NICE 2020b.) “Very low quality” according to GRADE means there is a high likelihood that the patient *will not experience* the hypothesized benefits of the treatment. (Balshem 2011.)

Similarly, the highly respected Cochrane Library—the leading source of independent systematic evidence reviews in health care—commissioned an evidence review concerning the efficacy and safety of hormonal treatments now commonly administered to “transitioning transgender women” (i.e., testosterone suppression and estrogen administration to biological males). That review, also published in 2020, concluded that “We found insufficient evidence to determine

the efficacy or safety of hormonal treatment approaches for transgender women in transition.” (Haupt 2020.) It must be understood that both the NICE and the Cochrane reviews considered *all* published scientific studies concerning these treatments.

86. As to social transition, as I have noted above, considerable evidence suggests that socially transitioning a pre-pubertal child puts him or her on a path from which very few children escape—a path which includes puberty blockers and cross-sex hormones before age 18. As a practical matter, then, a decision about social transition for a child must be made in light of what is known and what is unknown about the effects of those expected hormonal interventions.

**B. Youth who adopt a transgender identity show no durable improvement in mental health after social, hormonal, or surgical transition and affirmation.**

87. The evidence reviews for the efficacy and safety of hormonal interventions published in 2020 concluded that the supporting evidence is so poor that there is “a high likelihood that the patient will not experience the hypothesized benefits of the treatment.” There is now

some concrete evidence that on average they do not experience those benefits.

An important paper published in 2021 by Tavistock clinic clinicians provided the results of the first longitudinal study that measured widely used metrics of general psychological function and suicidality before commencement of puberty blockers, and then at least annually after commencing puberty blockers. After up to three years, they “found no evidence of change in psychological function with GnRHa treatment as indicated by parent report (CBCL) or self-report (YSR) of overall problems, internalizing or externalizing problems or self-harm” as compared to the pre-puberty-blocker baseline evaluations. “Outcomes that were not formally tested also showed little change.” (Carmichael 2021.) Similarly, a study by Branström and Pachankis of the case histories of a set of individuals diagnosed with GD in Sweden found no positive effect on mental health from hormonal treatment. (Landen 2020.)

A cohort study by authors from Harvard and Boston Children’s Hospital found that youth and young adults (ages 12-29) who



self-identified as transgender had an elevated risk of depression (50.6% vs. 20.6%) and anxiety (26.7% vs. 10.0%); a higher risk of suicidal ideation (31.1% vs. 11.1%), suicide attempts (17.2% vs. 6.1%), and self-harm without lethal intent (16.7% vs. 4.4%) relative to the matched controls; and a significantly greater proportion of transgender youth accessed inpatient mental health care (22.8% vs. 11.1%) and outpatient mental health care (45.6% vs. 16.1%) services. (Reisner 2015 at 6.)

Similarly, a recent longitudinal study of transgender and gender diverse youth and young adults in Chicago found rates of alcohol and substance abuse “substantially higher than those reported by large population-based studies of youth and adults.” (Newcomb 2020.) Members of the clinical and research team at the prominent Dutch VU University gender dysphoria center recently compared mental health metrics of two groups of subjects before (mean age 14.5) and after (mean age 16.8) puberty blockers. But they acknowledged that the structure of their study meant that it “can . . . not provide evidence about . . . long-term mental health outcomes,” and that based on what continues to be extremely limited scientific data “Conclusions about the long-term benefits of puberty

suppression should . . . be made with extreme caution.” In other words, we just don’t know.

Kiera Bell, who was diagnosed with gender dysphoria at the Tavistock Clinic, given cross-sex hormones, and subjected to mastectomies, before desisting and reclaiming her female gender identity, and a Swedish teen girl who appeared in a recent documentary after walking that same path, have both stated that they feel that they were treated “like guinea pigs,” experimental subjects. They are not wrong.

**C. Long term mental health outcomes for individuals who persist in a transgender identity are poor.**

88. The responsible MHP cannot focus narrowly on the short-term happiness of the young patient, but must instead consider the happiness and health of the patient from a “life course” perspective. When we look at the available studies of individuals who continue to inhabit a transgender identity across adult years, the results are strongly negative.

In the United States, the death rates of trans veterans are comparable to those with schizophrenia and bipolar diagnoses—20 years earlier than expected. These crude death rates include significantly elevated rates of substance abuse as well as suicide. (Levine 2017 at 10.) Similarly, researchers in Sweden and Denmark have reported on almost all individuals who underwent sex-reassignment surgery over a 30-year period. (Dhejne 2011; Simonsen 2016.) The Swedish follow-up study similarly found a suicide rate in the post-SRS population 19.1 times greater than that of the controls; both studies demonstrated elevated mortality rates from medical and psychiatric conditions. (Levine 2017 at 10.)

A recent study in the American Journal of Psychiatry reported high mental health utilization patterns of adults for ten years after surgery for approximately 35% of patients. (Bränström & Panchankis, 2020.) Indeed, earlier Swedish researchers in a long-term study of all patients provided with SRS over a 30-year period (median time since SRS of > 10 years) concluded that individuals who have SRS exhibit such poor mental health that they should be very long psychiatric

care after surgery. Unfortunately, across the succeeding decade, in Sweden and elsewhere their suggestion has been ignored.

I will note that these studies do not tell us whether the subjects first experienced gender dysphoria as children, adolescents, or adults, so we cannot be certain how their findings apply to each of these subpopulations which represent quite different pathways. But in the absence of knowledge, we should be cautious.

Meanwhile, no studies show that affirmation of pre-pubescent children or adolescents leads to more positive outcomes (mental, physical, social, or romantic) by, e.g., age 25 or older than does “watchful waiting” or ordinary therapy.

The many studies that I have cited here warn us that as we look ahead to the patient’s life as a young adult and adult, the prognosis for the physical health, mental health, and social well-being of the child or adolescent who transitions to live in a transgender identity is not good. Gender dysphoria is not easily managed because prescribing hormones is easy for the physician, when one understands the

marginalized, vulnerable physical, social, and psychological status of adult trans populations.

**VIII. TRANSITION AND AFFIRMATION DO NOT DECREASE, AND MAY INCREASE, THE RISK OF SUICIDE.**

**A. The risk of suicide among transgender youth is confused and exaggerated in the public mind.**

89. While suicide is closely linked to poor mental health, I comment on it separately because rhetoric relating to suicide figures so prominently in debates about responses to gender dysphoria. Any discussion of suicide when considering younger children involves very long-range and very uncertain prediction. Suicide in pre-pubescent children is extremely rare, and the existing studies of gender identity issues in pre-pubescent children do not report significant incidents of suicide. Any suggestion otherwise is misinformed. Our focus for this topic, then, is on adolescents and adults.

90. Some authors have reported rates of suicidal thoughts and behaviors among trans-identifying teens or adults ranging from 25% as high as 52%, generally through non-longitudinal self-reports obtained from non-represented survey samples. (Toomey 2018.) No studies show

that affirmation of children (or anyone else) reduces suicide, prevents suicidal ideation, or improves long-term outcomes, as compared to either a “watchful waiting” or a psychotherapeutic model of response.

91. Rhetorical references to suicidality figures in as many of 40% of gender identity patients need the following clarification.

Suicidality is an umbrella term that includes: suicidal thoughts, suicidal plans, manipulative suicide gestures, potentially lethal actual attempts, and completed suicide. Suicidal thoughts can be a personal reassurance that “I always have that option.” Suicidal thoughts with a plan can be a cry for help, manipulation, or expression of rage with serious attempts to end life.

92. Too often, in public comment suicidal thoughts are blurred with suicide. Yet the available data tells us that suicide among children and youth suffering from gender dysphoria is extremely rare.

93. An important new analysis of data covering patients as well as those on the waiting list (and thus untreated) at the UK Tavistock gender clinic—the world’s largest gender clinic—found a total of only four completed suicides across 11 years’ worth of patient data, reflecting

an estimated cumulative 30,000 patient-years spent by patients under the clinic's care or on its waiting list. This corresponded to an annual suicide rate of 0.013%. The proportion of individual patients who died by suicide was 0.03%, which is orders of magnitude smaller than trans adolescents who self-report suicidal behavior or thoughts on surveys. (Biggs 2022.)

94. Thus, only a minute fraction of trans-identifying adolescents who report thoughts or conduct considered to represent “suicidality” actually commit suicide. I agree with the statement by Dr. Zucker that the assertion by, for example, Karasic and Ehrensaft (2015) that completed suicides among transgender youth are “alarmingly high” “has no formal and systematic empirical basis.” (Zucker 2019.) Professor Biggs of Oxford, author of the study of incidence of suicide among Tavistock Clinic patients, rightly cautions that it is “irresponsible to exaggerate the prevalence of suicide.” (Biggs 2022.)

95. It is my opinion that telling parents—or even allowing them to believe from their internet reading—that they face a choice between “a live son or a dead daughter” is both factually wrong and unethical.

Informed consent requires clinicians to tell the truth and ensure that their patients understand the truth. To be kind, the clinicians who believe such figures represent high risk of ultimate suicide in adolescence simply are ill informed.

**B. Transition of any sort has not been shown to reduce levels of suicide.**

96. Every suicide is a tragedy, and steps that reduce suicide should be adopted. I have noted above that suicidality (that is, suicidal thoughts or behaviors, rather than suicide) is common among transgender adolescents and young adults before, during, and after social and medical transition. If a medical or mental health professional believes that an individual he or she is diagnosing or treating for gender dysphoria presents a suicide risk, in my view it is unethical for that professional merely to proceed with treatment for gender dysphoria and hope that “solves the problem.” Rather, that professional has an obligation to provide or refer the patient for evidence-based therapies for addressing depression and suicidal thoughts that are well-known to the profession. (Levine 2016 at 242.)



97. This is all the more true because there is in fact no evidence that social and/or medical transition reduces the risk or incidence of actual suicide. On the contrary, in his analysis of those who were patients of or on the waiting list of the Tavistock Clinic, Professor Biggs found that the suicide rate was not higher among those on the clinic's waiting list (and thus as-yet untreated), than for those who were patients under care. (Biggs 2022.) And as corrected, Bränström and Pachankis similarly acknowledge that their review of records of GD patients “demonstrated no advantage of surgery in relation to . . . hospitalizations following suicide attempts.” (I assume for this purpose that attempts that result in hospitalization are judged to be so serious as to predict a high rate of future suicide if not successfully addressed.”)<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Turban 2020 has been described in press reports as demonstrating that administration of puberty suppressing hormones to transgender adolescents reduces suicide or suicidal ideation. The paper itself does not make that claim, nor permit that conclusion.

**C. Long-term life in a transgender identity correlates with very high rates of completed suicide.**

98. As with mental health generally, the patient, parent, or clinician fearing the risk of suicide must consider not just the next month or year, but a life course perspective.

There are now four long-term studies that analyze completed suicide among those living in transgender identities into adulthood. The results vary significantly, but are uniformly highly negative.

Dhejne reported a long-term follow-up study of subjects after sex reassignment surgery. Across the multi-year study, subjects who had undergone SRS committed suicide at 19.1X the expected rate compared to general population controls matched by age and both sexes. MtF subjects committed suicide at 13.9X the expected rate, and FtM subjects committed suicide at 40.0X the expected rate. (Dhejne 2011 Supplemental Table S1.)

Asscheman, also writing in 2011, reported results of a long-term follow-up of all transexual subjects of the Netherland's leading gender medicine clinic who started cross-sex hormones before July 1,

1997, a total of 1331 patients. Due to the Dutch system of medical and death records, extensive follow-up was achieved. Median follow-up period was 18.5 years. The mortality rate among MtF patients was 51% higher than among the age-matched general population; the rate of completed suicide among MtF patients was six times that of the age-matched general population. (Asscheman 2011.)

Importantly, Asscheman found that “No suicides occurred within the first 2 years of hormone treatment, while there were six suicides after 2-5 years, seven after 5-10 years, and four after more than 10 years of CSH treatment at a mean age of 41.5 years.” (Asscheman 2011 at 637-638.) This suggests that studies that follow patients for only a year or two after treatment are insufficient. Asscheman et al’s data suggests that such short-term follow-up is engaging only with an initial period of optimism, and will simply miss the feelings of disillusion and the increase in completed suicide that follows in later years.

A retrospective, long-term study published in 2020 of a very large cohort (8263) of patients referred to the Amsterdam University gender clinic between 1972 and 2017 found that the annual rate of

completed suicides among the transgender subjects was “three to four times higher than the general Dutch population.” “[T]he incidence of observed suicide deaths was almost equally distributed over the different stages of treatment.” The authors concluded that “vulnerability for suicide occurs similarly in the different stages of transition.” (Wiepjes 2020.) In other words, neither social nor medical transition reduced the rate of suicide.

As with Asscheman (2011), Wiepjes found that the median time between start of hormones and suicide (when suicide occurred) was 6.1 years for natal males, and 6.9 years for natal females. Again, short- or even medium-term studies will miss this suicide phenomenon.

A 2021 study analyzed the case histories of a cohort of 175 gender dysphoria patients treated at one of the seven UK adult gender clinics who were “discharged” (discontinued as patients) within a selected one-year period. The authors reported the rather shocking result that 7.7% (3/39) of natal males who were diagnosed and admitted for treatment, and who were between 17 and 24 years old, were

“discharged” because they committed suicide during treatment. (Hall 2021, Table 2.)

99. None of these studies demonstrate that the hormonal or surgical intervention *caused* suicide. That is possible, but as we have seen, the population that identifies as transgender suffers from a high incidence of comorbidities that correlate with suicide. What these studies demonstrate—at the least—is that this remains a troubled population in need of extensive and careful psychological care that they generally do not receive, and that neither hormonal nor surgical transition and “affirmation” resolve their underlying problems and put them on the path to a stable and healthy life.

100. In sum, claims that affirmation will reduce the risk of suicide for children and adolescents are not based on science. Instead, transition of any sort must be justified, if at all, as a life-enhancing measure, not a lifesaving measure. (Levine 2016 at 242.) In my opinion, this is an important fact that patients, parents, and even many MHPs fail to understand.

## **IX. HORMONAL INTERVENTIONS ARE EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURES THAT HAVE NOT BEEN PROVEN SAFE.**

101. Given the widespread use of hormones for gender dysphoria it is not surprising that physicians consider their use safe, at least in the short term. I have already discussed the known and unknown dangers of puberty blocking agents for youthful gender dysphoria. On the contrary, no studies have been done that meaningfully demonstrate that either puberty blockers or cross-sex hormones are safe in the long run, for instance after five and 10 years. No studies have attempted to determine whether the effects of puberty blockers, are fully reversible.

102. In fact, there are substantial reasons for concern that these hormonal interventions are not safe. Multiple researchers have expressed that concern that the full range of possible harms have not even been correctly conceptualized. Because evidence demonstrates that pre-pubertal social transition almost always leads to progression on to puberty blockers which in turn almost always leads to the use of cross-sex hormones, physicians bear the ethical responsibility for a thorough informed consent process for parents and patients that includes this fact

and its full implications. Informed consent does not mean sharing with the parents and patients what the doctor believes: it means sharing what is known and what is not known about the intervention. So much of what doctors believe is based on mere trust in what they have been taught. Neither they themselves nor their teachers may be aware of the scientific foundation and scientific limitations of what they are recommending.

**A. Use of puberty blockers has not been shown to be safe or reversible for gender dysphoria.**

103. As I noted above, the recent very thorough literature review performed for the British NHS concluded that *all* available clinical evidence relating to “safety outcomes” from administration of puberty blockers for gender dysphoria is of “very low certainty.” (NHS 2020a at 6.) In its 2017 Guidelines, the Endocrine Society cautioned that “in the future we need more rigorous evaluations of the effectiveness and safety of endocrine and surgical protocols” including “careful assessment of . . . the effects of prolonged delay of puberty in adolescents on bone health, gonadal function, and the brain (including effects on cognitive,

emotional, social, and sexual development).” (Hembree 2017 at 6.) No such “careful” or “rigorous” evaluation of these very serious safety questions has yet been done.

104. Some advocates argue that puberty blockers are “safe” because they have been approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for use to treat precocious puberty—a rare condition in which the puberty process may start at eight or younger. No such conclusion can be drawn. As the in-package label for Lupron (one of the most widely prescribed puberty blockers) explains, the FDA approved the drug only *until* the “age was appropriate for entry into puberty.” The label provides no information as to the safety or reversibility of *blocking* healthy, normally-timed puberty’s beginning, and *throughout* the years that body-wide continuing changes normally occur. Given the physical, social, and psychological dangers to the child with precocious puberty, drugs like Lupron are effective in returning the child to a puerile state without a high incidence of significant side effects—that is, they are “safe” to reverse the condition. But use of drugs to suppress normal



puberty have multiple organ system effects whose long-term consequences have not been investigated.

105. **Fertility:** The Endocrine Society Guidelines rightly say that research is needed into the effect of puberty blockade on “gonadal function” and “sexual development.” The core purpose and function of puberty blockers is to prevent the maturation of the ovaries or testes, the sources of female hormones and male hormones when stimulated by the pituitary gland. From this predictable process fertility is accomplished within a few years. Despite widespread assertions that puberty blockers are “fully reversible,” there has been no study published on the critical question of whether patients ever develop normal levels of fertility if puberty blockers are terminated after a “prolonged delay of puberty.” The 2017 Endocrine Society Guidelines are correct that there are no data on achievement of fertility “following prolonged gonadotropin suppression” (that is, puberty blockade). (Hembree 2017 at 12.)

106. **Bone strength:** Multiple studies have documented adverse effects from puberty blockers on bone density. (Klink 2015; Vlot 2017; Joseph 2019.) The most recent found that after two years on puberty

blockers, the bone density measurements for a significant minority of the children had declined to clinically concerning levels. Density in the spines of some subjects fell to a level found in only 0.13% of the population. (Biggs 2021 at 937-939.) Some other studies have found less concerning effects on bone density. While the available evidence remains limited and conflicting, it is not possible to conclude that the treatment is “safe.”

107. **Brain development:** Important neurological growth and development in the brain occurs across puberty. The anatomic and functional effect on brain development of blocking the natural puberty process has not been well studied. A prominent Australian clinical team recently expressed concern that “no data were (or are) available on whether delaying the exposure of the brain to a sex steroid affects psychosexual, cognitive, emotional, or other neuropsychological maturation. (Kozłowska 2021 at 89.) In my opinion, given the observed correlation between puberty and brain development, the default hypothesis must be that there *would* be a negative impact. For the purpose of protecting patients all over the world, the burden of proof

should be on advocates to first demonstrate to a reasonable degree of certainty that brain structure and its measurable cognitive and affect processing are not negatively affective. This recalls the ethical principle: Above All Do No Harm.

The Endocrine Society Guidelines acknowledge as much, stating that side effects of pubertal suppression “may include . . . unknown effects on brain development,” that “we need more rigorous evaluations of . . . the effects of prolonged delay of puberty in adolescents on . . . the brain (including effects on cognitive, emotional, social, and sexual development),” and stating that “animal data suggests there may be an effect of GnRH analogs [puberty blockers] on cognitive function.” (Hembree 2017 at 6, 14, 15.) Given this concern, one can only wonder why this relevant question has not been scientifically investigated in a large group of natal males and females.

108. There has been a longitudinal study of one natal male child, assessed before, and again 20 months after, puberty suppression was commenced. It reported a reduction in the patient’s “global IQ,” measured an anomalous absence of certain structural brain development

expected during normal male puberty, and hypothesized that “a plausible explanation for the G[lobal] IQ decrease should consider a disruption of the synchronic [i.e., appropriately timed] development of brain areas by pubertal suppression.” (Schneider 2017 at 7.) This should cause parents and practitioners serious concern.

109. Whether any impairment of brain development is “reversed” upon later termination of puberty blockade has, to my knowledge, not been studied at all. As a result, assertions by medical or mental health professionals that puberty blockade is “fully reversible” are unjustified and based on hope rather than science. Without a number of additional case studies—or preferably statistically significant clinical studies—two questions remain unanswered: 1). Are there brain anatomic or functional impairments from puberty blockers? 2). Are the documented changes reversed over time when puberty blockers are stopped? With these questions unanswered, it is impossible to assert with certainty that the effects of this class of medications are “fully reversible.” Such an assertion is another example of ideas based on beliefs rather than on documentation, on hope not science.

110. **Psycho-social harm:** Puberty is a time of stress, anxiety, bodily discomfort during physical development, and identity formation for *all* humans. No careful study has been done of the long-term impact on the young person's coping skills, interpersonal comfort, and intimate relationships from remaining puerile for, e.g., two to five years while one's peers are undergoing pubertal transformations, and of then undergoing an artificial puberty at an older age. However, pediatricians and mental health professionals hear of distress, concern, and social awkwardness in those who naturally have a delayed onset of puberty. In my opinion, individuals in whom puberty is delayed multiple years are likely to suffer at least subtle negative psychosocial and self-confidence effects as they stand on the sidelines witnessing their peers developing the social relationships (and attendant painful social learning experiences) that come with adolescence. (Levine 2018 at 9.) Social anxiety and social avoidance are common findings in the evaluation of trans-identified children and teens. Are we expected to believe that creating years of being further different than their peers has no lasting

internal consequences? Do we ignore Adolescent Psychiatry's knowledge of the importance of peer groups among adolescents?

111. We simply do not know what all the psychological impacts of NOT grappling with puberty at the ordinary time may be, because it has not been studied. And we have no information as to whether that impact is “fully reversible.” In addition, since the overwhelming proportion of children who begin puberty blockers continue on to cross-sex hormones, it appears that there is an important element of “psychological irreversibility” in play. The question of to what extent the physical and developmental impacts of puberty blockers might be reversible is an academic one, if psycho-social realities mean that very few patients will ever be able to make that choice once they have started down the road of social transition and puberty blockers.

**B. Use of cross-sex hormones in adolescents for gender dysphoria has not been shown to be medically safe except in the short term.**

112. As with puberty blockers, all evidence concerning the safety of extended use of cross-sex hormones is of “very low quality.” The U.K. NIH evidence review cautioned that “the safety profiles” of cross-

sex hormone treatments are “largely unknown,” and that several of the limited studies that do exist reported high numbers of subjects “lost to follow-up,” without explanation—a worrying indicator. (NIH 2020b.)

The 2020 Cochrane Review reported that: “We found insufficient evidence to determine the . . . safety of hormonal treatment approaches for transgender women in transition.” (Haupt 2020.) Even the Endocrine Society tagged all its recommendations for the administration of cross-sex hormones as based on “low quality evidence.” (Hembree 2017, at 3.)

113. **Sterilization:** It is undisputed, however, that harm to the gonads is an expected effect, to the extent that it must be assumed that cross-sex hormones will sterilize the patient. Thus, the Endocrine Society 2017 Guidelines caution that “[p]rolonged exposure of the testes to estrogen has been associated with testicular damage,” that “[r]estoration of spermatogenesis after prolonged estrogen treatment has not been studied,” and that “[i]n biological females, the effect of prolonged treatment with exogenous testosterone upon ovarian function

is uncertain.”<sup>12</sup> The Guidelines go on to recommend that the practitioner counsel the patient about the (problematic and uncertain) options available to collect and preserve fertile sperm or ova before beginning cross-sex hormones. The life-long negative emotional impact of infertility on both men and women has been well studied. While this impact has not been studied specifically within the transgender population, the opportunity to be a parent is likely a human, emotional need, and so should be considered an important risk factor when considering gender transition for any patient.

114. **Sexual response:** Puberty blockers prevent maturation of the sexual organs and response. Some, and perhaps many, transgender individuals who did not go through puberty consistent with their sex and are then put on cross-sex hormones face significantly diminished sexual response as they enter adulthood and are unable ever to experience orgasm. In the case of males, the cross-sex administration of estrogen limits penile genital growth and function. In the case of females,

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<sup>12</sup> See also Guss 2015 at 4 (“a side effect [of cross-sex hormones] may be infertility”) and at 5 (“cross-sex hormones . . . may have irreversible effects”); Tishelman 2015 at 8 (Cross-sex hormones are “irreversible interventions” with “significant ramifications for fertility”).



prolonged exposure to exogenous testosterone impairs vaginal function. Much has been written about the negative psychological and relational consequences of anorgasmia among non-transgender individuals that is ultimately applicable to the transgendered. (Levine 2018 at 6.) At the same time, prolonged exposure of females to exogenous testosterone often increases sexual drive to a distracting degree. It is likely that parents and physicians are uncomfortable discussing any aspects of genital sexual activity with patients.

115. **Cardiovascular harm:** Several researchers have reported that cross-sex hormones increase the occurrence of various types of cardiovascular disease, including strokes, blood clots, and other acute cardiovascular events. (Getahun 2018; Guss 2015; Asscheman 2011.) With that said, I agree with the conclusion of the Endocrine Society committee (like that of the NIH Evidence Review) that: “A systematic review of the literature found that data were insufficient (due to very low–quality evidence) to allow a meaningful assessment of patient-important outcomes, such as death, stroke, myocardial infarction, or venous thromboembolism in transgender males. Future research is

needed to ascertain the potential harm of hormonal therapies.” (Hembree 2017 at 23.) Future research questions concerning long-term harms need to be far more precisely defined. The concerns that cross-sex hormones are safe for adolescents and young adults cannot be answered by analogies to hormone replacement therapy in menopausal women (which is not a cross-sex usage). Medicine has answered safety questions for menopausal women in terms of cancer and cardiovascular safety: at what dose, for what duration, and at what age range. The science of endocrine treatment of gender dysphoric youth is being bypassed by short-term clinical impressions of safety even though physicians know that cardiovascular and cancer processes often develop over many years.

Further, in contrast to administration for menopausal women, hormones begun in adolescence are likely to be administered for four to six decades. The published evidence of adverse impact, coupled with the lack of data sufficient to reach a firm conclusion, make it irresponsible to assert that cross-sex hormones “are safe.”

116. **Harm to family and friendship relationships:** As a psychiatrist, I recognize that mental health is a critical part of health generally, and that relationships cannot be separated from and profoundly impact mental health. Gender transition routinely leads to isolation from at least a significant portion of one's family in adulthood. In the case of a juvenile transition, this will be less dramatic while the child is young, but commonly increases over time as siblings who marry and have children of their own do not wish the transgender individual to be in contact with those children. By adulthood, the friendships of transgender individuals tend to be confined to other transgender individuals (often "virtual" friends known only online) and the generally limited set of others who are comfortable interacting with transgender individuals. (Levine 2017 at 5.) My concerns about this are based on decades of observations in my professional work with patients.

117. **Sexual-romantic harms associated with transition:** After adolescence, transgender individuals find the pool of individuals willing to develop a romantic and intimate relationship with them to be greatly diminished. When a trans person who passes well reveals his or her

anatomsex, many potential mates lose interest. When a trans person does not pass well, options are likely further diminished. But regardless of a person's appearance, these adults soon learn that many of their dates are looking for exotic sexual experiences rather than genuinely loving relationships. (Levine 2017 at 5, 13; Levine 2013 at 40; Anzani et al, 2021)

**C. The timing of harms.**

118. The multi-year delay between start of hormones and the spike in completed suicide observed by Professor Biggs in the Tavistock data warn us that the safety and beneficence of these treatments cannot be judged based on short-term studies, or studies that do not continue into adulthood. Similarly, several of the harms that I discuss above would not be expected to manifest until the patients reaches at least middle-age. For example, stroke or other serious cardiovascular event is a complication that is unlikely to manifest during teen years even if its likelihood over the patient's lifetime has been materially increased via obesity, lipid abnormalities, and smoking (Jacobs et al, 2022). Regret over sterilization or over an inability to form a stable romantic

relationship may occur sooner. Psychological challenges of being a trans adult may become manifest after the medical profession is only doing routine follow up care—or, in many cases, has lost contact with the patient altogether. Because few, if any, clinics in this country are conducting systematic long-term follow-up with their child and adolescent patients, the doctors who counsel, prescribe, or perform hormonal and surgical therapies are unlikely ever to become aware of the later negative life impacts, however severe. These concerns are compounded by the findings in the recent “detransitioner” research that 76% did not inform their clinicians of their detransition. (Littman 2021.)

119. The possibility that steps along the transition and affirmation pathway, while lessening the pain of gender dysphoria in the short term, could lead to additional sources of crippling emotional and psychological pain, are too often not considered by advocates of social transition and not considered at all by the trans child. (Levine 2016 at 243.) Clinicians must distinguish the apparent short-term safety of hormones from likely or possible long-term consequences, and help the patient or parents understand these implications as well. The young

patient may feel, “I don’t care if I die young, just as long I get to live as a woman.” The mature adult may take a different view. Hopefully, so will the child’s physician.

120. Individual patients often pin excessive hope in transition, believing that transition will solve what are in fact ordinary social stresses associated with maturation, or mental health co-morbidities. In this way, transition can prevent them from mastering personal challenges at the appropriate time or directly addressing conditions that require treatment. When the hoped-for “vanishing” of other mental health or social difficulties does not occur, disappointment, distress, and depression may ensue. It is noteworthy that half of the respondents to the larger “detransitioner” survey reported that their transition had not helped the gender dysphoria, and 70% had concluded that their gender dysphoria was related to other issues. (Vandenbussche 2021.) Without the clinical experience of monitoring the psychosocial outcomes of these young patients as they age into adulthood, many such professionals experience no challenge to their affirmative beliefs. But medical and mental health professionals who deliver trans affirmative care for those

with previous and co-existing mental health problems have an ethical obligation to inform themselves, and to inform patients and parents, that these dramatic treatments are not a panacea.

121. Whether we consider physical or mental health, science does not permit us to unequivocally declare that puberty blockers or cross-sex hormones are “safe.” Worrisome effects of endocrine treatment for the young include: increasing hemoglobin and red cell counts, asymptomatic abnormal lipid profiles, increasing weight, short stature, increased blood pressure, and decreasing bone calcium density. Ideally physicians will carefully monitor these parameters at regular intervals, which is the beginning of what will be the need for lifelong medical monitoring. Significant disease outcomes are not expected to frequently occur in the early years of endocrine treatment. Thus, parents and patients may be reassured, in this limited sense, that these endocrine interventions are “safe.” Medicine is aware, however, about the higher mortality from physical disease that some of these parameters facilitate. While it is difficult to discuss sterility and sexual dysfunction with parents, these

down-the-road implications of affirmative care are easier to consider than the evidence of a shortened life span for their child.

122. Compassionate gender specialists who trust what they may have been taught also assume they are improving mental health because patients seem happy to receive the treatments and eager for the bodily changes. They presume this happiness will increase their chances for personal scholastic, social, romantic, and vocational successes. But while masculinizing or feminizing the young body is easily managed in a limited medical sense, what is not easy is managed is living one's life as a trans person. This involves school and learning, new relationships with others who are not transgendered, and behaving in ways that facilitate vocational success. These matters are shaped by personal capacities and limitations. The underlying coping capacities, as reflected in the well-known array of psychiatric co-morbidities, are not simply ameliorated because of the hormones. For some, the continuing symptoms pose an existential crisis. They seek psychiatric care, often unbeknownst to their hormone providing physician. Regardless of one or a different physician's experiences with patients' mental health,



however, it is science that must answer the question. The data on the mental health of patients before, during, and after such treatments strongly contradict the assertion that gender dysphoria is cured, significantly ameliorated, or stabilized.

123. Gender change and its endocrine treatment of older children and early adolescents is a stunning process that raises vital philosophical and ethical questions. In answering these questions, passionate positions should be interrogated by the established facts. Science cannot be expected to provide all the answers. It is to be greatly respected, however. Three facts should remain foremost in mind when evaluating the ethics of affirmative care for minors:

- a. The history of treating older children and adolescents with hormones prior to establishing their biopsychosocial short and long-terms effects;
- b. The continued absence of long-term follow-ups despite the long existent need for them;
- c. The vulnerable marginalized status of trans adult communities.

124. Much of this comes together when professionals examine how we execute our informed consent ethical obligation to parents and the young patient (Levine et al, 2022) Informed consent obligations cannot be ethically accomplished in one efficient perfunctory meeting. Each element of treatment requires a somewhat separate process. Given the age of the patient and family circumstances, these elements may include watchful waiting, psychotherapy for the patient or the parents, socialization in the opposite gender, puberty blockers, cross-sex hormones, mastectomies, orchiectomies or vaginoplasties. Any first step in affirmative care needs to be understood as setting the patient and family on a pathway through the life cycle which is fraught with many dangers. The immediate and long-term implications for the patient and entire family need to be carefully discussed. The professional needs to lead discussions on the family's hoped for benefits versus clinically recognized benefits, physical changes expected and their limitations, risks, alternate approaches available, and what science does not know. Professionals may ethically state what they believe will be the benefit of the intervention but must clarify the controversies within medicine.

Parents need to be told of the lack of controlled studies, inadequate follow-up studies, and the highly contentious political environment into which their child will be entering.

125. In committing ourselves to honestly portray the state of knowledge, professionals must be aware that some families will simply trust what the doctor recommends because they find the uncertainty overwhelming. There, of course, is danger in this. Caveat emptor—buyer beware—applies both to the patient, parents, and the physician. With today's knowledge base, we are scientifically uncertain whether we are harming or helping the patient. And this is a considerable ethical problem!

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